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The Pennsylvania-German Society



VOLUME XXIV

Proceedings at

Philadelphia, October 17, 1913

The Pennsylvania-German Society.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

PHILADELPHIA, PA., OCTOBER 17, 1913

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Publication Committee

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DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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Pennsylvania—The German Influence in its Settlement and Development

Part XXVI. The Beginnings of the German Element in York County, Pennsylvania

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY.

FOR 1913–1914.

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GEORGE A. GORGAS, Esq. (elected Jan. 17, 1913).
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ULYSSES S. KOONS, Esq.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

AT ITS

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN HOUSTON HALL, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILA.

ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1913

THE meeting was called to order by the president, Dr. B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., at 11 o'clock a.m.

The reading of the minutes was as usual dispensed with, for the reason that they are contained in the published proceedings of the society.

Rev. Nathan R. Melhorn, pastor of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of the Incarnation, 47th Street and Cedar Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa., was called upon by the president to deliver the invocation.

INVOCATION BY REV. NATHAN R. MELHORN.

Almighty and eternal God, at the beginning of our session we desire to offer unto Thee our praise, thanksgiving and petition. Thou alone art God. In Thee we live and

move and have our being. From Thee cometh every good and perfect gift. Truth, Love, and Mercy are Thy habitations.

We thank Thee for the gifts Thou hast bestowed upon us for our country and state; and for the customs and traditions of our fathers, them Thou didst protect and bless in the establishment of justice and culture. As Thy stewards they have given us church and school, law and order, fruitful farm, and productive city.

We pray Thee for grace to preserve the heritage of our fathers. Guide us in the discharge of our duty to Thee and to our neighbors, to state and society, enabling us to discern the good which is ours from the past; wilt Thou also make us faithful to the present, so that the future may be the better, in that we have lived.

In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, Amen.

Address of Welcome by Dr. Edgar Fahs Smith.

An address of welcome was then delivered by Edgar Fahs Smith, Sc.D., LLD.., Provost of the University of Pennsylvania.

(*Note.*—The stenographer engaged for this meeting did not arrive until Dr. Smith was more than half through with his address. Dr. Fackenthal corresponded with Dr. Smith with a view of getting him to complete his address, but as the following letter will show he was not successful in getting him to do so.)

Dr. Smith's letter reads as follows:

"*My dear Mr. Fackenthal:*

"Much as I desire to accommodate you, and happy as I would be in doing it, I find myself absolutely unable to recall what I

said on the morning when I bade you and your friends welcome to the University of Pennsylvania.

"So won't you please forget the incident, and believe me,

"Faithfully yours,

"(Signed) EDGAR F. SMITH."

The part of Dr. Smith's address which the stenographer did get follows:— . . . The thought came to me that I would like to trace the records of scientific men of recent years who have been born in the State of Pennsylvania, and I was astonished to see how many men of science had come out of the state of Pennsylvania, and how many of them were of German descent, or Pennsylvania-Germans. Not all of the great leaders come from New England. Lancaster county has three or four, old Berks is represented, and Franklin county has John Ryder, the embryologist, whose work on fishes stands as a monument. Philadelphia county had Joseph Leidy. No wonder the Germans of Pennsylvania are entitled to a front seat, with the Puritans and the rest of them.

One of the five greatest physicists of the world, Henry Rowland, came from Pennsylvania; he received a common school education here, and then went to Troy, New York, where he studied civil engineering.

I do not know what has led me to speak of these things, unless it is because I wish that you Germans who are interested should know how many scientists have come from your stock. Then there was old Dr. Mesheims, one of the three great American entomologists, and the Rev. Daniel Ziegler, whose parishioners never suspected that he knew anything but theology; but the truth of it is that we cannot study entomologists without encountering his name high among them, for he was a pioneer in this branch of

science. I should like to see a thorough study made of these men, and others of almost equal worth. We have had some botanists too, among them Wolle, and Porter and one or two noted mineralogists.

But I have not come before you to talk about the scientists of the Keystone State. I have come to bid you welcome to the oldest institution in the state. I sometimes wonder why the people of this state do not realize the value of this university. I find many men who are ignorant of the fact that the university is interested in the education of the people of the whole state, and that the university is paying men to teach in different cities. This university contributed men to the laying of the foundation of this republic of ours. I tell our boys that when the representatives of these colonies met in this city in 1774, the University of Pennsylvania was well represented in the Halls of the Continental Congress.

Many people think that William Smith, the first provost of the university, was a Tory. Letters have just come to light proving that he was present at the first town meeting held here, and was one of the three speakers; at the next town meeting he was the first speaker. But many Pennsylvania men were loyal to the King.

This university was the first institution in this country to have a German professorship, now German is an important study here; the head of the department is not a German by birth, but is thoroughly versed in the language, which he speaks like a native; he has spent years in accumulating the German knowledge he has, and has written about such subjects as barns of the Pennsylvania Dutch. I thought I knew all about barns, having worked in them as a boy, but he is acquainted with the intellectual side of a barn, and can tell why the roof has a particular shape, and says if one

sees any such roof anywhere he is safe in going to its door and shouting "Wie geht's."

I need not tell you that you are more than welcome here. The buildings are all open for your inspection; go in and make yourselves at home. The campus is an immense one, covering 116 acres, with nearly 100 buildings.

Once more, you are more than welcome. Come and see us at another time when you have no business meeting to give attention.

Address of the President of the Society.

The president of the society, B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D., then delivered his annual address:

In one respect, at least, the constitution of our society differs from that of most other societies, in not leaving it optional, but in prescribing that the president shall make an address at the annual meeting over which he presides. I thank you for this privilege, and appreciate the honor which you have conferred upon me.

During the past few months I have taken great pleasure in looking over the addresses of the twenty-two gentlemen who have preceded me in this office, and take this opportunity of congratulating the society, upon the splendid and valuable contributions which they have added to our history, as well as to our literature; nearly all of these addresses refer to, and review the early settlement of our country, and the important part that was taken by the Pennsylvania-Germans as pioneers, and what they have contributed to the progress, and to the educational and social development of our country.

Many of the earlier addresses, point out more particularly, the object and needs of the society, and its possibili-

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ties, and often suggest lines of research that could be followed in the preparation of papers; while many of the later addresses review the progress that has been made and point with pride to our publications, which present, as no other publications have presented, a fair and impartial history of our people, and the magnificent part they have played in building up a nation.

My own thought, however, is one of regret that our publications do not have a larger circulation, they should be accessible to more people, rather than to the small number who go to make up the membership of our society, and the few volumes that are sold to our friends; they should at least be on the shelves of the principal educational institutions of our Commonwealth, and I should like to see them on the shelves of every public library in the country.

There is in many of our papers, and in fact in most accounts of the Pennsylvania-Germans wherever published, an undercurrent of complaint, because historians have not given them proper credit for what they have accomplished.

It was quite apparent long ago, that the Germans who came to Pennsylvania and settled themselves in communities, until in fact they spread over the greater part of many counties, were handicapped, in fact prevented, by their environment, from adopting the language of their new country, and it should surprise no one to know that they were not appreciated in an English colony, controlled by English laws and English customs; they were themselves at fault but not to be found fault with, for the very conditions about which complaint is made; these conditions are, however, fast passing away, and as the years go by the worth and character of the Pennsylvania-German is becoming better known and better appreciated.

I do not agree with those who believe that the gradual

disuse of the Pennsylvania-German language particularly in our schools and pulpits, and in fact in our courts too, is to be regretted;* we are doubtless becoming better understood in inverse proportion as these customs are passing away.

If the Pennsylvania-German has not advanced as rapidly as some of his neighbors, his methods have been sure, and his sincere manner of thinking, and his right living, and the careful, painstaking, and thorough habits of his life, have produced results that have placed him in the front rank of good American citizenship.

It is not my intention, however, to speak of the ability; nor to review the history and progress of this people; nor their qualifications as farmers and artisans; nor their value as good citizens and home-makers; nor how this liberty-loving people have from the year of their adoption, through the days of the Revolution, down to the present, protected and defended their homes and the institutions of their country; nor to speak of their love of education, and the magnificent work they have accomplished as teachers and scholars; and the honorable position they occupy in the professional world; for all these have been fully and ably presented, before this society, by others.

Two years ago I was made a member of your executive committee, and over the past year have with some care, studied its minute-book, which has given me the opportunity of familiarizing myself, to some extent at least, with the inside workings of that committee, and of the valuable work accomplished by the society.

* At a court trial at Allentown, before a jury, November 12, 1910, in which the Thomas Iron Co. was defendant (the writer being president of the Company) the greater part of the proceedings were carried on in Pennsylvania German.

The special thought, therefore, that I have in mind in presenting my address, is to review from a business standpoint, what has been accomplished, and to offer some suggestions for the future conduct of the society.

In the outset I desire to say, that from my viewpoint, the conditions of membership should be more liberal; if the Pennsylvania-German has been prevented from becoming better known, by not asserting himself, and receiving his just dues from historians and others, and has in fact, even been maligned and misrepresented, largely by reason of his conservatism, can we of the twentieth century, afford to follow in his footsteps, and be regarded by our successors as lacking in liberality by appearing to be narrow in conducting the affairs of our society? I am sure we can preserve the history and traditions of our people and at the same time open our doors and admit as associates, if not as full members, those of other birth and lineage. I can perhaps illustrate this by referring to a circumstance that came to my notice one year ago; a gentleman who could not trace his ancestry through German or Swiss lines, applied for membership; as he is a good friend of the society, and has made a special study of German imprints, the members of the executive committee were unanimous in their desire to admit him, they studied the constitution to see whether it could be interpreted with a liberality which would enable them to do so; they finally consulted a book of synonyms, but could find no interchangeable word that would aid them in admitting him, even as an associate. It appears, however, that this same gentleman had two years previously, viz.:—on October 3, 1910, been placed on the Committee on Bibliography, where he is rendering valuable services; there appears to be no more authority, under our constitution, for placing him on a com-

mittee, than there would be in admitting him to membership; we need just such men as he is, and I trust that he may be admitted, and therefore I believe we should make our constitution more elastic. I am not overlooking the fact, as recorded in Volume I, of our transactions, that the question of qualifications was well thought out, when the constitution was formulated in 1891, but conditions, and doubtless opinions also, have undergone a change since then, for we now have the experience of twenty-two years to look back upon.

I do not believe there is any wish to admit women, but it appears nevertheless, under date of October 13, 1910, that a woman was elected to full membership; there is, however, no record to show that she accepted the membership that was offered to her.

The examples which I have given would indicate, that a more liberal constitution would be agreeable to the executive committee, as it doubtless would be to others. In this connection I want to draw attention to the recommendations made by Lieut. Richards in 1907, when as secretary of our society, he made suggestions for a larger field of membership.

I would make eligible as members, all German and Swiss emigrants to America, and their descendants; and as associates, all others who are interested in us, and whose desire to join the society, should alone be a sufficient test of their sincerity; there is no danger of our becoming overrun with such applications, but in any event, we can preserve our individuality as a people, our constitution should do that, and at the same time be broad enough to admit, as associates, those of other nationalities.

There have been some amendments to our constitution and by-laws, and some rules established by the executive

committee, which should be incorporated in our by-laws, and moreover, there are a number of minor changes necessary to conform to actual working conditions. My thought therefore is, that our constitution and by-laws, should be amended along the lines of least resistance, that have suggested themselves as the result of our twenty-two years experience; and with this in mind, I have prepared an amended constitution and by-laws, which I now beg leave to formally offer for adoption.

As any changes in our constitution and by-laws, must under our rules, lie over to be acted upon at a subsequent meeting, I have thought best to have them printed for distribution at this meeting, and also for convenient reference have had the present constitution and by-laws, with amendments, printed as nearly as possible in parallel columns. These will be distributed at the close of my address.

I desire also to invite your attention to certain statistics, showing the status of our membership, and the distribution of our publications.

A membership list, made up with reasonable care, during the month of September, 1913, prior to sending out the October bills, made up from both the treasurer's and secretary's books, which were kindly placed at my disposal, shows that 934 persons have been elected to membership since the organization of the society in 1891; of this number 66 either failed to accept membership, or did not pay their first year's dues, this would show the wisdom of the rule established by the executive committee, which should be enforced, not to enroll those whose applications are not accompanied by the first year's dues; this rule has been incorporated in the amended constitution, which I am offering for adoption. In addition to the 66 who did not qualify, after having been elected, there are 201 who have

been dropped or suspended for failure to pay their dues within the required time. We have lost 50 by resignation, and have records of 146, who have passed away, these are exclusive of 29 who are known to have died after they retired from membership, and there are doubtless others, who have passed away from among those who were suspended, whose subsequent career could not be followed as closely as those of the active membership.

After deducting the above there are 451 names carried on the rolls, of this number, however, there are 62 in default, for three or more years, and 10 who were elected from 1910 to 1913 inclusive, who have not qualified, leaving 399 in good standing, viz.:—One honorary member, 9 life members, 381 members, and 8 associates.

The books show that there were 36 reinstated, after having allowed their membership to lapse, some of whom remained out of the society a number of years.

The statistics which I am presenting, show that 35 per cent. of the entire enrollment either did not qualify, or having qualified, retired or were suspended from membership.

I desire also to invite attention to the distribution of our publications, outside of our membership, which during the twelve years, from 1898 to 1909, inclusive, show an average of $352.80 per year, indicating about 75 copies, while over the past four years, the average has been $49.17, or say 11 copies per year.

In view therefore of these conditions, it would appear that there should be better co-operation on the part of our members, particularly among the more active ones, to promote the interests of this society which we all love well; this can be done in many ways, e. g. when candidates are nominated, the proposer should explain the conditions of

membership, and see that applications are accompanied by the first year's dues. The more zealous members could aid the society, by keeping track of those in their particular neighborhood.

We are perhaps unfortunate in not being able to afford having a paid secretary, whose duty it should be to keep in close touch with the membership, and endeavor to retain those who have shown interest enough in us to join the society.

When we take into consideration the large number of Pennsylvania-Germans living within our Commonwealth, and those scattered over other states of the Union, our membership seems small indeed. I must not be understood as advocating a large membership, particularly of those who may take no special interest in our society, but with the present number it must of necessity be a long time before the long cherished wish of our founders and others, can be carried out, to establish a headquarters, where members may visit at all times, and where the valuable papers and documents of the society as well as its library may find a resting place; our membership must realize, howver, that with the small annual dues, and the free distribution of our publications, that we are giving back to them full value received. Larger sales of our publications, would be of the greatest benefit to the treasury of our society at the present time.

I cannot close my address without speaking of the valuable work accomplished by the executive committee, of which I have only lately become a member; it has met regularly four times a year since the formation of the society in 1891; its members have cheerfully given their time, and their money too, for no one (and in this statement I include the secretaries and treasurer) has at any time re-

ceived pay of any kind, not even to cover traveling and other expenses, while attending the meetings of the society, or of the executive committee; this, however, is a small matter, and one that can be measured in dollars and cents, but this society cannot so easily pay the debt it owes them for their loyalty, and for the faithful manner in which they have discharged their duties; with them it has truly been a labor of love, and any one at all familiar with the literary, and other work which they have performed need go no further to estimate the worth and character of the Pennsylvania-German.

In connection with this address a revised form of the Constitution and By-Laws was presented.

Mr. Ulysses S. Koons then offered the following motion:

I move that the amendments to the constitution and by-laws, proposed at this meeting, be placed in the hands of the executive committee, with full power and authority to make any verbal or other changes that it may desire, in order that they may be offered and acted upon at the next annual meeting.

This motion was duly seconded and carried unanimously.

The Constitution and By-laws presented by Mr. Fackenthal, as amended by the executive committee, are as follows:

CONSTITUTION.

Article I—*Name.*

The name of this organization shall be The Pennsylvania-German Society.

Article II—*Objects.*

Section 1. The objects of the society shall be:

To perpetuate the memory and foster the principles and virtues of the early settlers in Pennsylvania of Germanic origin and of their descendants.

To bring to public notice and aid in the preservation of the landmarks and monuments of these early settlers and to collect and preserve the early printed records, books, papers, pamphlets, newspapers and in particular the documentary heritage, including manuscripts, letters, journals, church and church-yard records, and such other originals as relate to the history and genealogy of the Pennsylvania-Germans; and from time to time to publish them, especially such as will exhibit the part belonging to this people in the growth and development of American character, institutions and progress.

To set together the deeds of these early pioneers in the American wilderness in connected historical form, and give them a permanent place in American literature.

To cause statedly to be prepared and read before the society, papers on the history, biography, genealogy, customs, language, art and folklore of the Pennsylvania-Germans.

To promote social intercourse among its membership.

Article III—*Membership.*

Section 1. The membership of the society shall consist of three classes, viz.: regular, associate and honorary.

Section 2. Regular members shall be direct descendants of early settlers in Pennsylvania of Germanic origin.

SECTION 3. Associate members shall be any Americans of German descent, or any Germans who have become naturalized citizens of the United States, or, any persons who are in sympathy with the objects of this society. They shall be entitled to all the rights and privileges of members, except that they shall have no vote and shall be ineligible to hold office.

SECTION 4. Honorary membership may be conferred upon distinguished persons who are in sympathy with the objects of the society and who have won eminence by their learning or achievements in matters pertaining to the objects of the society.

SECTION 5. Applications for membership of all classes shall be made in writing on blank forms, to be supplied by the secretary, which shall be signed by the applicant and by two members of the society, and shall contain the date and the place of birth, the occupation of the applicant and the line of ancestry from which the applicant has descended, together with such other data as the blank form may indicate, or which the executive committee may from time to time require. All applications for membership that may be presented to the executive committee at any of its meetings shall lie over and be acted upon at its next meeting; and if the application be found in order and accompanied by the dues, as provided in Article IV, Section 1, hereof, the applicant shall be balloted for, and a two-thirds affirmative vote of the members present shall be necessary to elect.

SECTION 6. Life members shall consist of such regular or associate members as may be elected to this class by the executive committee and as have conformed to the requirements of Article IV, Section 2 hereof.

SECTION 7. Honorary members shall be nominated by the executive committee and elected by the society.

SECTION 8. The nineteen gentlemen who attended the two preliminary meetings at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, February 14, and February 26, 1891, to organize the society, shall be known as "founders."

ARTICLE IV—*Dues.*

SECTION 1. The dues of members and associates shall be three dollars ($3) per annum. The dues for the first year shall accompany the applications for membership. The fiscal years of the society shall end October 1, and all dues shall be payable in advance. All members and associates not in arrears shall receive the current volume of the proceedings.

SECTION 2. Any member who shall have paid dues in full may upon the payment of fifty dollars ($50) at one time be eligible to life membership.

The money received for life memberships shall be invested and constitute a permanent fund, the income arising thereon may be used by the executive committee for any purpose that it may deem to the best interests of the society.

Honorary and life members shall be exempt from dues.

SECTION 3. Persons in arrears for two years shall cease to be members. Delinquent members may, at the judgment of the executive committee, be re-instated on the payment of the arrearages and the annual dues for the current year.

SECTION 4. The executive committee shall have power, by a two-thirds vote of its members, to expel from membership any member of the society for conduct likely to endanger the welfare and interests of the society, an opportunity being first given such member to be heard before the executive committee in defense, subject to the approval of a special committee of five members of the society appointed by the society.

SECTION 5. Any person who shall cease to be a member of the society shall forfeit all right or interest in the property of the society

ARTICLE V—*Officers.*

SECTION 1. The officers of the society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee composed of fifteen members.

SECTION 2. The president, vice-president and treasurer shall be elected at each annual meeting, to serve for one year, or until their

respective successors are duly elected. The president shall be ineligible for re-election for a period of ten years. The secretary shall be elected for a term of three years.

SECTION 3. The elective members of the executive committee shall serve each for five years, but the time of election of each member shall be so arranged that the terms of three members expire every year, and that three successors be chosen to take their places.

SECTION 4. The president shall appoint three auditors, whose duty it shall be, immediately pending the annual meeting, to audit the accounts of the treasurer for the current year and report at the annual meeting.

SECTION 5. All elections shall be by ballot, under the direction of one judge and two tellers, to be appointed by the president or presiding officer. A majority vote of all members present shall be necessary to elect, provided, however, that when there is but one candidate for each office, the secretary may be authorized to cast the ballot for the society.

DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

ARTICLE VI—*President.*

SECTION 1. It shall be the duty of the president to preside at all meetings of the society; to deliver an address at the annual meeting; to appoint auditors, and to perform all other duties pertaining to his office. In the event of his death, removal, resignation, or during his absence, the duties of president shall devolve upon one of the vice-presidents, as may be determined by the executive committee.

ARTICLE VII—*Treasurer.*

SECTION 1. The treasurer shall be the custodian of the funds and securities, and shall collect all dues and other moneys belonging to the society, and shall disburse the same under the direction of the executive committee. His accounts shall at all times be

open and subject to the examination of the president and of the executive committee, and shall also be open and subject to the examination of an auditing committee, to be appointed by the president as provided in Article V, Section 4 hereof; he shall submit a report and statement of his accounts at each annual meeting of the society, and at each meeting of the executive committee; he shall be a member *ex-officio* of the executive committee.

For the faithful performance of his duties he shall give bond in such sum as the executive committee may deem proper.

Article VIII—*Secretary.*

Section 1. The secretary shall conduct the correspondence of the society, and of the executive committee, of which he shall be *ex-officio* a member, and shall keep accurate records of the minutes of their meetings; he shall notify all members and associates of their election to membership in the society, and all officers of their election as such; he shall notify all members of the executive committee of the time and place of its meeting; he shall be the custodian of the seal and the insignia of the society; he shall keep a register of the membership, together with their addresses; he shall carefully preserve the applications for membership that have been placed in his hands; he shall keep a record of all deceased members and associates, and furnish for publication in the annual volumes published by the society, such obituary or biographical notices as the executive committee may direct; he shall act as librarian and curator, and have in his keeping all books, manuscripts, records and other articles belonging to the society that have been entrusted to his care; he shall submit a written report, at each annual meeting, showing the status of membership, and such other matters as may come under his jurisdiction; he shall also perform such other duties as the executive committee may from time to time direct.

Article IX—*Executive Committee.*

Section 1. The executive committee shall act for the welfare of the society, and conduct its business during the interim between

the meetings of the society. At the annual meeting of the society it shall present a list of nominations for officers, which list, however, shall not preclude the presentation of other nominations.

The executive committee shall have power to fill for the unexpired terms any vacancies that may happen among the officers of the society or the executive committee.

SECTION 2. The executive committee shall from time to time make such rules and regulations, and appoint such committees and sub-committees, on matters not herein determined as it may deem necessary, provided, however, that such rules and regulations, and the appointment of such committees are not in conflict with this constitution, or with the by-laws of the society.

ARTICLE X—*Seal.*



The seal of the society shall be in the form of a circle one and seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, having a garter three-sixteenths of an inch in width, bearing in plain Roman capitals the legend "Seal of the Pennsylvania-German Society"; within the garter shall be displayed the obverse of the insignia, and beneath this the legend, "Organized April 15, 1891," as shown on the margin hereof.

The secretary shall be the custodian of the seal, which shall be used only for the purposes designated by the society.

ARTICLE XI—*Insignia.*

The insignia of the society shall consist of a badge of gold pendant from a ribbon.

The badge shall be in the form of the double-headed eagle of

the Holy Roman Empire, in gold and black enamel, one and three-sixteenths of an inch in length and one and one-fourth of an inch in width; the obverse to have displayed on the breast of the eagle the coat of arms of the Province of Pennsylvania, in silver and black enamel; the reverse of the shield to be plain gold for the name of the member and the number of the insignia; the whole to be suspended from the ribbon by a ring of gold.

The ribbon shall be of ribbed and watered silk, gold in the centre, with a gold stripe one-sixteenth of an inch in width along each border, inside of which shall be a black stripe one-fourth of an inch in width; the whole ribbon to be one and three-eighths of an inch in width and the same dimension in displayed length.

The insignia should be worn by the members of the society on all occasions when they assemble for any stated purpose or celebration, and may be worn on any occasion of ceremony; it shall be carried conspicuously on the left breast, but the officers of the society or those who have held office may wear the insignia suspended from a ribbon around the neck.

On all other occasions members may wear a rosette of the prescribed ribbon and pattern in the upper buttonhole of the left lapel of the coat.

The secretary shall be the custodian of the insignia and shall issue the same to members under such regulations as may be made by the executive committee.

Article XII—*Flag.*

The flag of the society shall consist of an oblong field of gold, in the centre of which shall be displayed the insignia of the society in proper colors.

Article XIII—*Amendments.*

Section 1. Amendments, additions, or alterations, to this Constitution must be presented at an annual meeting of the society and referred to the executive committee. If adopted by the executive committee by a two-thirds affirmative vote they shall be pre-

sented at a regular meeting of the society for its approval. No amendments, additions or alterations can be voted upon by the society at the same meeting at which they are offered.

BY-LAWS.

ARTICLE I—*Order of Business.*

SECTION 1. The order of business at the annual meetings of the Pennsylvania-German society shall be as follows:

1. Calling the meeting to order.
2. Invocation.
3. Reading the minutes of the last regular and intervening special meetings.
4. Addresses.
5. Report of the secretary.
6. Report of the treasurer.
7. Report of committees.
8. Nominations and election of officers.
9. Miscellaneous business.
10. Reading of papers, addresses, etc.
11. Appointment of auditors.
12. Adjournment.

SECTION 2. The order of business at all other meetings of the society shall be as follows:

1. Calling the meeting to order.
2. Invocation.
3. Reading the call for special meeting.
4. Addresses.
5. The transaction of business for which special meetings were called.
6. Reports of committees.
7. Miscellaneous business.
8. Reading of papers, addresses, etc.
9. Adjournment.

Article II—*Meetings.*

Section 1. The society shall hold its regular meetings in the fall of each year at such time and place as may be determined upon by the executive committee, to be known as the annual or anniversary meeting, which besides the routine business shall be characterized by a special program, and may include tours of inspection, the marking of monuments, and such other activities and entertainments as the executive committee may determine.

The executive committee may, at its option, arrange for a banquet in connection with the annual meeting.

Section 2. The executive committee shall have authority to call special meetings of the society, at such times and places as it may deem expedient, and it shall be required to call special meetings, whenever requested to do so in writing, by not less than ten members of the society; and shall have full power to arrange programs for such meetings, not only for the special purpose for which they may have been called, but also for the reading of papers, delivering of addresses, receiving reports, or for such regular or extraordinary business as it may desire to bring before the society, provided, however, that at least two weeks' notice of such meeting shall be given to all members and associates, as provided in the by-laws.

Section 3. The executive committee shall hold quarterly meetings each year, at such time and place as may best suit its convenience, provided, however, that the fall meetings should be held at or about the time fixed for holding the annual meeting of the society; it shall also hold such other meetings as it may from time to time decide upon.

The chairman of the executive committee shall have power to call a special meeting of the committee whenever the same may be necessary for the welfare of the society.

Article III—*The Executive Committee.*

Section 1. The executive committee shall organize at its first meeting following the annual meeting of the society by electing

one of its number chairman, and it shall have the power of dividing itself into sub-committees and of defining the duty of each committee. There may be committees on membership, dues and delivery of publications, editorial, proof and indexing, printing and illustrating, genealogical, biographical, history and tradition, finance and such other committees or such rearrangement of the herein named committees as the executive committee may from time to time require.

SECTION 2. The executive committee shall have authority to issue certificates of membership to be presented to all honorary members, and to all life members and life associates. It may also issue certificates of membership to all other members and associates, for a consideration or otherwise as it may deem wise and proper. It shall also have authority to procure insignia, rosettes, flags, banners and all other tokens and emblems of the society and dispose of them as it may deem proper.

SECTION 3. The executive committee shall place insurance on the books, publications, manuscripts, plates, cuts, etchings and on any or all other property belonging to the society.

SECTION 4. The executive committee shall be the sole judge in determining the character and subject matter of papers, records, etc., to be presented before, or to be published by the society; it shall have power to revise manuscripts, and to determine the time-periods and space limits of the same, whether they consist of historical narrative or of records; and in general shall have control of all matters pertaining to the programs, papers, records, and publications of the society; it may also, in its discretion, use its own judgment in printing in the proceedings of the society, any record, or any speech, or any part thereof, made at any of the banquets of the society.

SECTION 5. The executive committee may arrange with authors for furnishing them with reprints of their papers, or for additional copies of the transactions containing their papers, on such terms and conditions as may be agreed upon; and it shall be permitted to loan to authors, or to others, the plates, cuts, etchings, etc., belong-

ing to the society, when it believes it to be to the best interests of the society to do so.

SECTION 6. The executive committee shall provide a book of records separate and apart from the minute books, and record therein the names of those attending the meetings of the society.

SECTION 7. Neglect on the part of any member of the executive committee to attend its meetings for three consecutive meetings, shall be taken as a resignation from said committee, provided, however, that the committee may excuse any member for such absence, if good and sufficient reasons are given.

ARTICLE IV—*Amendments.*

SECTION 1. These by-laws can be altered, amended, or abrogated, only at a regular meeting of the executive committee, by an affirmative vote of two-thirds of its members present, provided that such alterations, amendments, or abrogations, shall be reported to the society at its next succeeding annual meeting, and be printed in the published proceedings thereof.

Address of Joseph G. Rosengarten.

The president then introduced Mr. Rosengarten, stating that he was the only honorary member of the society, all of the others thus honored by the society having passed away.

Mr. Rosengarten presented a most interesting synopsis of a paper which he had prepared for publication in the proceedings of the society; his remarks were as follows:

Extracts from Dohla's Diary, 1777–1783.

Much of this material was collected from the journals of the soldiers of the revolution. When I first came across this, it struck me as a curious analogy that a Bavarian general should have reprinted the journal of a common soldier coming to this country; but while reading it, it came back to me that I had read it before. I found in my library a book which I had purchased many years ago, the Journal of a Bavarian Soldier, written by himself. It surprised me that the general had quite overlooked the fact that this journal had been printed in this country. But I found, however, that this Bavarian general had altogether failed to mention the book. This common soldier had come to this country with the first of the Hessian troops.

There is much material of this kind in Germany. Mr. Edward Lowell spent many years in Germany collecting material for his capital book, "The Hessian Troops in the War for Independence." The material he collected has been carefully preserved by the family, and is accessible to

any one. Other books are by Greene and Andrew D. White, at one time president of Cornell University. The University of Pennsylvania's scholars have aided in the reprinting the journals of the German soldiers of the revolution. The first of these was edited by Prof. Learned, that of a soldier named Ewald; the second by Stephen Popp; the third is that of Dohla, but there was no means of ascertaining its source; Mr. Putnam, the librarian, said that the material that had been gathered together before his time had been turned over to him without any explanation.

However, the Congressional Library is now a great storehouse of original material relating to early American history, and especially so of the Germans in this country.

There is one other great collection in New York, that of George Bancroft, the historian, in which there are more copies of original manuscripts dealing with the Germans serving in the American war on the British side, than anywhere else. This vast material was gathered largely by Kapp, known to many of you; he wrote a history of the Germans in New York which is a capital book. At the death of the historian, it was urged that the library should be bought by the Congressional Library, but the Public Library of New York, which is rich in works of this kind, and which has a large endowment, bought it, and it is there housed and open for consultation. I will not trouble you with the list given here for it is an endless one.

It is noticeable that in Germany itself we find an awakening interest in this phase of German-American history.

There has grown up a system of exchange professorships, by which the universities of both nations prosper, and students from Germany are more and more attending

American schools. We are now sending men to Germany and it is having a good effect. Every year men go to Germany from this university and specialize; and on the other hand, a desire has arisen there to come here, and now some students come here annually, especially to the technical schools. So you find, in our own university, students who will carry home a renewed interest in the early history of Germans in America.

But to return, Dohla was a soldier in Bavaria; he was not one of the irregulars who were impressed into service, and who suffered so severely; he was a regular soldier, but of some education, sufficient at least, so that when he was at last discharged he became a schoolmaster in his native village. During this time before his death, which occurred in 1811, he wrote of his first visit to America, this writing descended to a friend of his son, who put it in the library of the ducal castle of Homburg, where it was found by Ratterman, who published it in this country; then later the Bavarian general found it and published it.

Dohla writes simply, unaffectedly, and tells his story precisely; he describes the places where he was quartered, New York, Lancaster, York, and probably Newport; he is a man who keeps a careful entry of every religious service he attends, and none of his writings show the least sign of irreligion or disrespect; he records the times he took part in communion services, and in other ways shows his training as a pious German; he also describes a great deal of property which fell to his share, especially one raid from Germantown, which included watches, buckles, English shirts, etc., until I do not understand how he carried it all. But on his retreat he had to throw away a great deal of his plunder. It seems strange that this

religious man should be so grasping and greedy, but soldiery was often so, and he served his country faithfully.

There are some mistakes in his manuscript, but the mistakes in general confirm the truthfulness of what he saw. He speaks of Rochambeau, the French general, as an Admiral, and the young Custis who was on Washington's staff, as Washington's son, when he was in reality his stepson.

Dohla describes at some length the meeting of those German soldiers who were serving in the French army, with the soldiers of the German army; he also speaks of the kindness shown to all the Germans by the American officers; he mentions the fact that in a little country churchyard near Princeton, he saw Washington approach the grave of a Hessian officer, and stand bareheaded, saying that he came to do honor to a brave soldier who had done his duty. There is not a word of irreverence, disrespect, or irreligion in all his journal. He describes the places he passed through, and the people who showed him kindness. His only joke is that the King of Prussia was torn down and reërected in this country; there were at that time many inns that bore the King's head as a sign board.

Dohla has one other matter that is of interest to us here, *i. e.,* the constant repetition of the number of soldiers remaining here. First, there were the deserters, many of whom entered the American army, where their trained services were welcomed; they formed no small part of the early German-Americans. Only one fourth of Dohla's own company returned to Germany, the great bulk of them remaining here.

After the battle of Yorktown, men were held as prisoners in Lancaster, York, and in Maryland, and they were pretty poorly cared for; they were allowed to go out and

work in the fields, and in many instances the men who hired them were German settlers. Many farmers bid for deserters, and he mentions instances of men whose discharge was bought, who married daughters of the farmers, and settled here.

With such a preparation as that, a considerable element of the German population, which settled as far out as Ohio, came from this very honorable and creditable stock.

One reason for the many desertions is found in the fact that the German princes had driven a very hard bargain with the English, who had to pay for a full enlistment of all men, including those who were killed or lost. The German element that returned to Germany after the war was very small.

One of the effects of those who returned was seen in the German army, as the German officers noted the inefficiency of the heavily equipped soldiers as against the mobile American troops, and that led to the establishment of the light infantry of the German army, and their cavalry also underwent similar changes.

Many of these young Germans lived to take part in the war that crushed the great Napoleon, and won independence for Germany.

There are many of German descent who may still feel an interest in knowing that the German troops who served on the British side in the American war of Independence had a large part in destroying the power of Europe's greatest ravager when they returned to Germany to help in the great war for freedom.

The treasurer then presented his annual report as follows:

Report of Treasurer Dr. Julius F. Sachse, for Year Ending October 1, 1913.

Balance on hand from last annual report..		$1,690.86
Receipts during year.		
Received from dues as shown by vouchers Nos. 5,365 to 5,687	$1,111.00	
Cash from secretary for three years (see statement below)	29.25	
Interest on vested funds (life fund).....	40.00	
Received from life membership (Seth Bunker Capp)	50.00	
Books sold	81.50	
Life fund	15.00	$1,326.75
Total to account for		$3,017.61
Credits as per vouchers		1,679.42
Balance on hand October 1, 1913		$1,338.19

This balance is in addition to two $500 bonds, in which the life-funds are invested.

Memorandum which is Supplemental to the Treasurer's Official Report.

Sale of books by the treasurer,

Year ending October, 1910.....	$69.16
Year ending October, 1911.....	27.00
Year ending October, 1912.....	19.00
Year ending October, 1913.....	81.50
Total	$196.66

Report of Auditors.

The auditors appointed at the last annual meeting, viz.: Ulysses S. Koons, Alfred Percival Smith, and Prof.

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George Lewis Plitt, presented their report in writing, which was read by the president, setting forth the fact that they had examined the accounts of the treasurer for the year ending October 1, 1913, and that they had found the same correct.

Appointment of Auditors.

The retiring president (B. F. Fackenthal, Jr.) then appointed an auditing committee to serve for the ensuing year, consisting of the same three men who served last year as follows: Ulysses S. Koons, Alfred Percival Smith, and George Lewis Plitt.

Election of Officers.

The meeting then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year.

Lieut. H. M. M. Richards placed the following in nomination, stating that they were the nominees selected by the executive committee: President, Julius Frederich Sachse, Litt.D.; Vice-Presidents, Edgar Dubs Shimer, LL.D., and Hon. Christopher Heydrick, LL.D.; Treasurer, J. E. Burnett Buckenham, M.D.; Executive Committee, Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D., Rev. Nathan C. Schaeffer, D.D., LL.D., Ulysses Sidney Koons, Esq.

These nominations were approved by the society and they were unanimously elected.

The Secretary then presented his annual report as follows:

Report of Secretary Dr. George T. Ettinger, for Year Ending October 1, 1913.

As another year of the existence of the Pennsylvania-German Society has come to its close, and consequently

another chapter added to the history of our organization, it affords me general satisfaction to report that during the past year nothing has occurred to disturb the even tenor of our way, and that the society has enjoyed its usual degree of prosperity.

The executive committee, in whose hands are the affairs of the society when not in annual session, has as usual held four meetings in the months of January, April, June, and October. On January 17, 1913, Hon. Maurice C. Eby, ex-mayor of Harrisburg, who has been an active member of the executive committee for many years, resigned on account of failing health, and the executive committee as empowered by the constitution and by-laws elected Mr. George A. Gorgas to the vacancy thus created. The executive committee also appointed a committee, consisting of the president, the secretary, and the treasurer, to revise the by-laws and list of members.

During the year just closed Volume XXI of the PROCEEDINGS of the society was published and distributed to those members whose financial relations with the society entitled them to a copy of the same. Its interesting literary and artistic contents make this volume a worthy successor of the long row of stately tomes that have preceded it. Rev. Peter Miller's unique manuscript with Beissel's ninety-nine mystical proverbs, Dr. Sachse's fully illustrated paper on "The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Pike," Dr. Augustus Schultze's "Guide to the Old Moravian Cemetery at Bethlehem," together with the biographical sketches of deceased members, and the full proceedings of the York meeting, make this a most interesting and valuable number of the annual series.

I am also happy to be able to state that Volume XXII is in press and will, no doubt, shortly appear. The executive

committee is already considering the publication of Volume XXIII.

During the year fourteen new members were elected, nine were reported as having died and two resigned.

Since the last report the secretary received from the sale of books the sum of $102, from which must be deducted the following:

Expended for printing	$4.00
Dues to State Federation of Pennsylvania Historical Societies	2.00
Postage	1.00
Total	$7.00
Leaving a balance in the secretary's hands of	$95.00

In conclusion, let me assure you that the members of the executive committee are constantly concerned about the welfare of the society; and if this is so, is it too much to ask that every member of the society do the same? And I know of no better way of showing our interest and loyalty than by increasing the membership of our organization, and thus increasing its strength, and its efficiency. With increased strength and efficiency better results are sure to follow.

Report of the Committee on an Index of Pennsylvania-German Dialect Literature.

To the Pennsylvania-German Society:

At the annual meeting of the society held at Riegelsville, one year ago, your committee reported the progress that had been made on this most interesting work; it reported having covered about four fifths of the ground to be gone over; it further reported that the remainder was well in

hand, and that there was a reasonable certainty that it would be completed and submitted to the executive committee prior to this meeting. This certain expectation your committee now regrets to report has not been realized. The latest information from the committee's editor, Prof. Reichard (October 11, 1913), states that he has added about 100 titles during the past year; he states that he is not favorably located (Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.) for getting material, and for that reason he hopes that the committee will be continued until the work can be carefully completed.

For myself I can say that the index project has been, and still is, a matter of very deep interest to me. Dr. Reichart has shown himself to be an able compiler, and I am inspired with the feeling that the completion of this work will give the society something of immeasurable value, and that it will prove to be a most valuable contribution to its already numerous and admirable papers.

Respectfully submitted,

S. P. Heilman,

Chairman.

Dr. Heilman called attention to the fact that Mr. Daniel Miller, a member of his committee, has passed away during the past year, and asked that some one should be appointed to take his place on the committee. Whereupon on motion the matter of supplying the vacancy was referred to the executive committee, with power.

Memorials in Independence Hall.

Dr. M. S. Seip, of Easton, Pa., stated that within the past year he had been instrumental in having the portrait of George Taylor, one of the signers of the Declaration of

Independence, placed in Congress Hall at Sixth and Chestnut Sts., and that he had noticed that there were no portraits or memorials of some half dozen of the signers on the walls of the building, and he thought that it would be well, and would have great weight with the persons in charge, and moreover be an honor to our society if it would use its influence, and urge upon the authorities to give this important matter attention. Dr. Seip then offered the following resolution:

Resolved.—That the Pennsylvania-German Society, respectfully ask of the authorities of Independence Hall to institute such measures, as will result in placing Memorials for those signers of the Declaration of Independence in the rooms of the hall of such of the signers whose portraits or memorials are not now in said hall.

On motion duly made and seconded this resolution was referred to the executive committee.

Announcements.

Dr. Buckenham, on behalf of the Committee of Arrangements, made certain announcements of the program for the remainder of our entertainment, but as these same announcements are included in the address of Dr. Sachse, they are not repeated here, but are referred to in Dr. Sachse's address.

Vote of Thanks.

A resolution was offered and carried unanimously, requesting the secretary to write to the authorities of the University of Pennsylvania, and extend to them a vote of thanks for the hospitalities given us which have made our meeting a very pleasant, comfortable, and educational one.

Gavels Belonging to the Society.

The president then called upon Dr. Sachse, president-elect, for his address and, in turning over to him the gavel belonging to the society, said that the society was fortunate in possessing two gavels, one presented by the Committee on the Monument Association at the Ephrata meeting, October 20, 1899 (see Vol. X, page 15), made from timber taken from the building called Kedar, at Ephrata. The other one, now turned over to Dr. Sachse, was presented to the society by Bishop N. B. Grubb November 2, 1906, made from wood originally part of the old Mennonite Church in Germantown, built in 1708, and transferred to the church built in 1770.

Address of Dr. Julius F. Sachse.

Mr. President and Fellow Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society: I wish simply to express my appreciation of the unsolicited honor which you have given me in electing me your president.

As one of the founders of the society it has been my privilege to be one of the "hewers of wood and drawers of water" from the very inception of the movement.

As your treasurer for 23 years, I have been the only one of the original officers to serve in office throughout the life of the society. I accepted that office without a penny in the treasury, and I leave it with an ample working balance in the general fund and a substantial investment in the life-fund.

As chairman of the publication committee, I can point with pride and satisfaction to our 22 stately volumes, second to none published by any of the hereditary patriotic societies.

As your president I shall continue to do my best to further the interests of the society.

It is meet and well that our society should accidentally have settled upon this October week for its annual meeting, as it marks the centennial of the great battle of the nations at Leipsic, where the power of the great Napoleon was crushed by German prowess. And even now, while we are here in convention, the guns are booming in far-off Saxony, at the unveiling of the greatest monument on earth, commemorating this great victory. On this monument there is but a single inscription, "*Gott mit uns,*" the same simple prayer which was in the hearts of most of our forebears, when they came to these shores a century before this great battle was fought.

Some twenty years ago, while seeking for documents bearing upon the early German emigrants to Pennsylvania, it became apparent at the very outset that the tide of German emigration to this colony was not due to William Penn, but to his friend and counsellor at Rotterdam, Benjamin Furly, who, upon Penn receiving his grants from Charles II, became his chief agent on the continent for the sale of his newly acquired lands in America.

Furly's house was a rendezvous for some of the most learned men and litterateurs of the day, and his library contained what was perhaps the most complete collection of Quaker literature and publications.

Benjamin Furly (born April 13, 1636) died March, 1714, in his seventy-eighth year; his great library was then catalogued, and sold at auction October 22, 1714, and his Quaker books were purchased by Zacharius von Uffenbach, a German scholar, and after his death, in 1734, they came into possession of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, and found a resting place in the library of the ducal palace,

"Freidenstein," at Gotha. During one of my visits to that great library I found this valuable collection, with Uffenbach and Furly book-plates. During the present year I had the privilege and good fortune to have a copy made of the various titles, under the direction of Dr. Ewaldt, which are now at the service of the society.

I also found an account of Braddock's defeat, by a German officer, and a description of Pennsylvania, together with a map of the Province showing the various settlements. By permission of His Excellency Duke Evert of Coburg-Gotha, a translation of this book is being made for us under the direction of Dr. Ewaldt, which was promised to me by the middle of last September, and I had hoped to bring it before the society at this meeting, but a letter received yesterday advises me that it will not be ready until November.

There is another matter of interest to our members; on Saturday next, October 25, there will be held, in Philadelphia, a most interesting celebration, in which the President of the United States, his cabinet, and members of congress of the original thirteen states will be prominent factor. I allude to the re-dedication of old Congress Hall at Sixth and Chestnut Sts., which has now been restored to its original condition, as it was when Washington and Adams met there. This is of special interest to us, as the speaker of the first congress, Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, was a Pennsylvania-German, a forebear of our honored former president and efficient secretary, Lieut. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg Richards. Then again it must be remembered that Speaker Muhlenberg, in 1795, in that identical building, as chairman of the whole, cast the deciding vote that saved the Jay treaty, and thereby the property of the Republic, for years to come.

The time has now come to adjourn for our luncheon at the Bartram, at Chestnut and 33d Sts. A conveyance has been provided for the ladies. At 2 o'clock the coach will take members and their ladies to the museum of the University. At 3.30 o'clock all members and guests are requested to assemble in Egyptian Hall at Wanamaker's, where a musical program will be rendered. At 6 o'clock an informal reception will be held in the parlors of the Hotel Walton, corner of Broad and Locust Streets. At 7 o'clock the annual subscription banquet will be held at the Hotel Walton.

Adjournment.

At the conclusion of Dr. Sachse's address the president declared the business meeting adjourned.

From "The Germantown Guide."

Reported by Dr. J. E. Burnett Buckenham.

. . . . . .

In the afternoon the society visited the Free Museum of Science and Art at the University, where the great collections on exhibition were enjoyed by all An organ recital in Egyptian Hall at Wanamaker's, at which music was played which had been played by the German Auxiliaries in the Revolution, German marches, and the music played by the Germans at Leipsic when Napoleon's forces were defeated, brought to a close the program for the afternoon. At six o'clock an informal reception was held in the parlors of the Hotel Walton, which was largely attended, and at 7.30 the society sat down to the annual banquet. Nearly one hundred members of the society, with members of their

families, participated in this feature of the occasion. Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg Richards, late Lieutenant in the United States Navy, a former president of the society, was toastmaster. He called upon the following members of the society, who responded to their toasts in a manner befitting the occasion: Rev. A. R. Bartholomew, D.D., "Pennsylvania-German Hospitality"; Henry S. Borneman, Esq., "Pennsylvania-German Characteristics"; Rev. Paul de Schweinitz, D.D., "The Religious Side of the Pennsylvania-Germans"; and Ulysses S. Koons, Esq., "Pennsylvania-German Poetry."



Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXVI

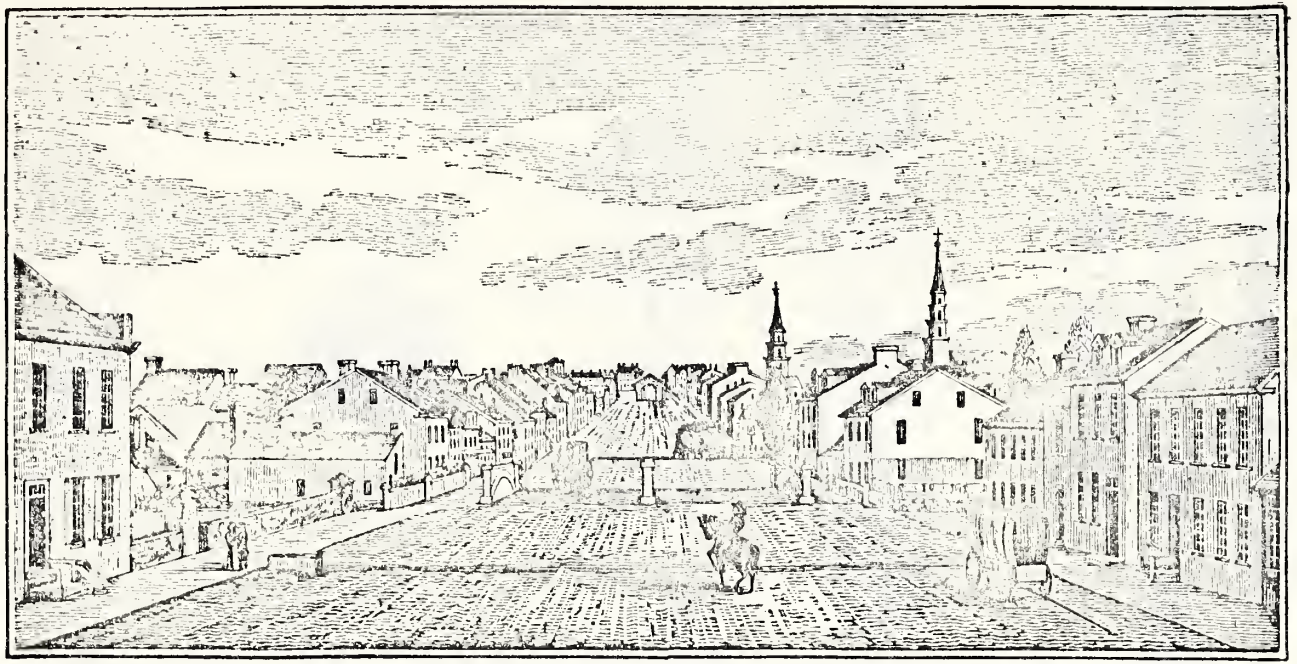
THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT
IN YORK COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.
DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.



WESTERN ENTRANCE TO YORK.

The bridge over the Corodus, and the Baltimore Railroad, are seen in the conter. The Market House is in the Center Square, where once stood the old Court House occupied by Congress, in 1777–78.

FROM DAY'S HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

The Beginnings of the German Element in York County Pennsylvania

BY

ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, B.D., PH.D.
Professor of History in Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, and Curator of the Historical Society of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America

PART XXVI. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY



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1916

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FOREWORD.

THE sources usually determine the stream. The beginnings of a movement generally contain a prophecy of its later development. For that reason it has been thought worth while to make a study of the origin of the present German element in York County. The position of Pennsylvania in the affairs of the nation and the position of York County in the affairs of the state, make it profitable to investigate the earliest beginnings of the strongest element in the county. The study has been fruitful for it has dealt with virgin soil.

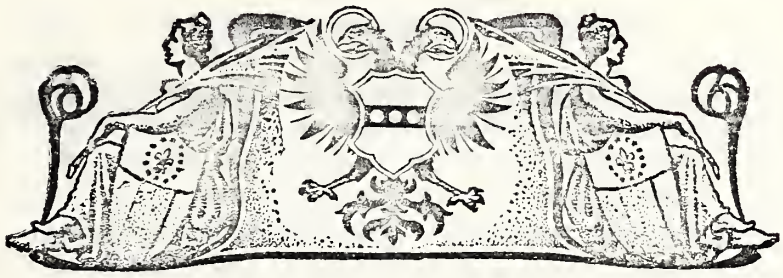
It has not been possible in a single monograph like this to trace the history of these settlements beyond their very beginnings. Nor has the attempt been made to follow out all possible lines of investigation, such as the economic, the sociological, the political, the industrial, the religious, and the linguistic. To set forth the full history of the Germans in the county will require a series of volumes. The present treatise is merely a study preliminary to such a full presentation of their history. It has been regarded as sufficient to show in this treatise how those German settlements took their beginnings, and to set forth such characteristics of the original settlers and such features of the original settlements as will enable the reader to understand

the relation of this element to the subsequent history of the county, to the general movement of Germans in this country, to the colonial history of the state of Pennsylvania, and to the general course of events in our national history. Our study therefore has barely covered two decades and has in no case carried us beyond the middle of the eighteenth century. But this brief span of years lies in the most important because the most formative period of our history.

The York County with which we deal is the county as bounded on the map of today. Other geographical expressions also are used with their present-day significance.

An effort has been made to weave the body of the text into the form of a continuous narrative and so far as possible to relegate to the footnotes all references to sources, all allusions merely incidental, and all details not directly relevant. Specific acknowledgment of all sources is made at the places where they are used and these are also collated in the Bibliography (Appendix D). The Blunston letters that are quoted or referred to are always found in the "Miscellaneous Manuscripts of York and Cumberland Counties, 1738–1806" (see Bibliography) unless otherwise indicated.

GETTYSBURG, PA.,
April 30, 1914.



CHAPTER I.

The First White Men in the County.

LONG before the white man began to make permanent settlements in what is now York County, its valleys were trodden by the pilgrim, the explorer, and the trader. Already in the first decade of the eighteenth century settlements had begun in Lancaster County just east of the Susquehanna River. At the same time or shortly before that settlements began to spring up on the Monocacy in Maryland and in the Shenandoah Valley of western Virginia. The settlers in these regions were for the most part Germans who had left their homes chiefly on account of religious persecutions. That there were German settlements in Virginia some years before the end of the seventeenth century is shown by an old French map[1] of 1687 which marks the location of a German settlement at the headwaters of the Rappahannock River. This is also confirmed by an English map of about the same time which has the words "Teutsche Staat" on the upper Rappahannock, and on the upper James River points out "Meister

[1] Now in the collection of Dr. Julius F. Sachse of Philadelphia. See letter of Sachse, Feb. 10, 1907, to Wayland in Wayland's "German Element in the Shenandoah Valley," p. 10.

Krugs plantasie." Furthermore in 1699 Daniel Falckner, one of the pietists on the Wissahickon Creek, was sent to Germany as representative of the pietistic fraternity. One of the expressed objects of this trip to the Fatherland was to solicit aid and additional recruits so that the perfect number of forty could be kept intact, and so that the fraternity could extend their usefulness in educating their neglected countrymen in Pennsylvania and Virginia.[2]

It was only natural that these German pioneers in the different colonies should early seek to communicate with one another. And so as a matter of fact they did. The common bonds of nationality and of religious interest soon operated to bring about intercourse and conference between the German sectarians of eastern Pennsylvania and those of Maryland and Virginia on the south. Letters were written and journeys were made. The journal of John Kelpius[3] shows that on October 10, 1704, that philosophical mystic wrote from the banks of the Wissahickon in Pennsylvania a twenty-two page German letter to Maria Elizabeth Gerber,[4] a disciple of his in Virginia. But the religious enthusiasm of the sectarians was not satisfied with the interchange of letters. Visits were made for the purpose of exhorting and strengthening the brethren in the faith. Long preaching journeys were undertaken. The manuscript of Reverend Petrus Schäffer (written to Reverend August Hermann Francke) now in the archives at Halle shows that before the end of the seventeenth century, about the time that Falckner went to Germany, both Petrus

[2] Sachse, "Curieuse Nachricht," p. 37; also Sachse, "German Pietists of Pennsylvania," 1694–1708, p. 96 f.

[3] Journal now in the possession of Mr. Charles J. Wistar of Germantown, Philadelphia.

[4] There were Gerbers also in Lancaster County; see Rupp's "History of Lancaster County," p. 189.

Schäffer and Heinrich Bernhard Köster travelled from Pennsylvania to Virginia on such a mission.[5] After German settlements had been made in the Carolinas in 1710[6] the preaching and teaching trips of the Pennsylvania German sectarians extended beyond Virginia to what is now North Carolina. Thus in 1722 Michael Wohlfarth, a pietist from Germantown, journeyed on foot from Philadelphia by way of Conrad Beissel's hut on the Mühlbach and through the Valley of Virginia to preach a revival among the Germans in North Carolina.[7]

Now the route of these religious enthusiasts on their journeys from north to south was a well-marked one. It was the great natural avenue formed by the valley between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghany Mountains. This is the highway that from time immemorial had been used by the Indians in their wanderings from north to south or vice versa. It included the series of fertile valleys now known as the Cumberland, the Shenandoah, and the Virginia Valleys. The first white men to set foot upon these regions were the German pietists of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Before the close of the seventeenth century the German settlers, pilgrims, and explorers had begun to pass up and down over this great natural highway with its fertile soil and its well-watered bottoms and long before the middle of the eighteenth century the Germans were buying lands in the Shenandoah Valley and settling there as though it had been one of the outlying districts of the city of Philadelphia.

[5] Sachse, "German Pietists of Pennsylvania," 1694–1708, p. 289; also "Curieuse Nachricht," p. 37, footnote.

[6] At Newbern, North Carolina, see Bernheim, "German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas," p. 67 ff.; also Williamson's "History of North Carolina."

[7] Sachse, "German Sectarians of Pennsylvania," 1708–1742, p. 80.

York County is not a part of this great highway but for the pilgrims coming from Lancaster County and the counties east and northeast of Lancaster, York County is the gateway to the Cumberland and the Shenandoah Valleys. The German evangelists and pilgrims from eastern Pennsylvania when they set out to visit their brethren in the South would usually call upon their countrymen in Lancaster County and then crossing the Susquehanna River would make their way across the entire breadth of York County until they reached the Cumberland Valley.[8] In doing this they followed the path of the Indian trail which led from a point on the Susquehanna afterwards known as Wrightsville, westward along the Kreutz Creek and across the Codorus Creek to a point one and one fourth miles beyond the present city of York and thence northwestward by MacAllister's Mill and through Wakely's (Moore's) Gap in the South Mountains to Carlisle on LeTorts Spring in the Cumberland Valley. Or else, instead of turning northwestward after leaving the site of York they continued southwestward and thus followed the entire course of the valley which extends across the width of the county from Wrightsville through York and Hanover and into Maryland.[9] These were well marked paths. They were in almost constant use by the aborigines before the white men came to America as a thorough-pass from the wilderness in the south and west to the wilderness in the north and

[8] Heinrich Sangmeister in his "Leben und Wandel" tells how he and his companion Brother Antonius left the Ephrata Cloister and reached the Cumberland Valley in this way. Sachse, German Sectarians, p. 345.

[9] The diaries of the Moravians (now preserved at Bethlehem, Pa.) indicate that they usually employed the latter route in their missionary journeys. And in the *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. 12, p. 55, footnote, we have the general statement: "The first part of the journeys of these Moravian missionaries was always the same. From Bethlehem by way of Lebanon, Lancaster, York, Pa., Frederick and Hagerstown, Md., to the Potomac."

east. Long before permanent settlements had been made along the courses of this route its paths were trodden by the German missionaries and pilgrims on their way to the great valley highway that led to their brethren in the south. And when the county of York began to be populated and the need of roads began to be felt, a large part of this old Indian trail which had furnished the route for the missionaries was constructed into the "Monacacy Road" (1739). With the construction of the "Shippensburg Road" in 1749 and the "Carlisle Road" in 1751, the several branches of the historic missionary route from the Susquehanna River to the Cumberland Valley disappeared entirely beneath the roadbed of the public highways.[10] It is worthy of note that the Germans should have been the first white men to set foot upon these regions which were to be so largely settled by Germans less than half a century later and which were to furnish the outlet for so large a body of German immigration to the south and the west.

After the valleys of York County had been in use for some years as a thoroughfare for the German pilgrim, the explorer and the trader began to interest themselves in these districts. The first traders appeared shortly after the beginning of the eighteenth century. John Harris an Englishman settled at the site of Harrisburg in 1705. He opened a trading station and carried on an extensive business with the Indians on both sides of the Susquehanna River both north and south of his station. The Indians in York County were situated chiefly along the river and Harris purchased large quantities of skins and furs from them. But the chief pioneer Indian traders along the lower Susquehanna were French Canadians. Prominent

[10] See, for example, Gibson's "History of York County," p. 321 f.

among them are the names of Martin Chartier, Peter Chartier, Peter Bazaillon, and James LeTort. They all had their stations on the east side of the river but carried on a large business in trading with the Indians west of the river.

The first man to explore the county was a representative of the German Mennonites from Switzerland. It was the explorations of Lewis Michelle from Bern that led to the first Pennsylvania survey within the present limits of York County. Michelle (or Mitchel) was employed by his fellow countrymen and co-religionists of the canton of Bern and sent to America in 1703 or 1704 to search for a convenient tract of vacant land in Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Carolina, that might serve as a suitable place for the settlement of a Swiss Mennonite colony.[11] In the course of this search he came in 1706 to the Conestoga region in the western part of Lancaster County. On February 24, 1707, the Conestoga Indians made formal complaint against Michelle for his wanderings among their lands, and for having pressed their people into service as guides and assistants.[12]

Michelle was a miner according to the testimony of Governor Evans, and for that reason received the encouragement and support of the Pennsylvania government in his explorations.[13] For the early colonial governments

[11] A. Stapleton in his "Memorials of the Hugenots in America," speaking of the French traders in the Conestoga Valley of Lancaster County, says, p. 89: "It is worthy of note that Lewis Mitchelle the advance agent and prospector of the Bernese Mennonites, spent a number of years with these traders (1703–1707) on terms of intimacy and was accused by the authorities on the occasion of a misunderstanding of having led the Frenchmen here."

[12] Colonial Records, II: 404 f. Also Rupp's "Lancaster County," p. 54 f.

[13] "The Governor added that he found he (*i. e.*, Michelle) had some notion of mines, and had his thoughts much bent that way; that he was

were always keenly on the alert for even the slightest indication of mineral wealth in the soil of the new land and they always encouraged the search for mines, at the same time exercising care to pre-empt for themselves the exclusive rights of exploitation. At one time Governor Evans was strongly suspected of conniving with Michelle to secure personal gain from the discoveries of this roving prospector. In 1708 William Penn wrote from England to James Logan, his secretary: "Remember the mines which the Governor yet makes a secret, even to thee and all the world but himself and Michelle."

But the explorations of Michelle west of the Susquehanna bore their first real fruit under the governorship of Sir William Keith, a shrewd and enterprising Scotchman who was quick to develop the natural resources of the province and who also was not beyond turning those resources partly to his own personal benefit. Governor Keith was the first governor to lead the proprietary surveyors beyond the Susquehanna River and into the present limits of York County. This first survey was made in 1722 and was one of two surveys made within the present limits of our county in the month of April of that year. Governor Keith's survey was the first and was made secretly on April 4 and 5. The governor afterwards gave as his reason for making this survey that he wished to prevent the obnoxious intrusions of the Marylanders in this part of Pennsylvania soil. The circumstances under which this survey was made throw much light on the historical background of the earliest German settlements in the county.

willing to let him proceed, and had not discouraged him; that he advised him to take some Indians with him; that of the persons before mentioned, the Governor had ordered two that he could confide in to be there, that he might have a full account of their proceedings." Col. Rec., II: 405.

Sir William, it would seem, was amply justified in the swift and sudden measures he took to secure the territory west of the river. Delay might have been costly. The governor explained his action at the meeting of the Provincial Council in Philadelphia on April 16, 1722, in these words:

> Upon some information I lately received that the Indians were like to be disturbed by the Secret and Underhand Practices of Persons, both from Mary Land and this Place, who under the Pretence of finding a Copper Mine, were about to Survey and take up Lands on the other side of the River Sasquehannah, contrary to a former Order of this Government; I not only sent up a Special Messenger with a Writ under the Lesser Seal to prevent them, but took this Occasion to go towards the Upper parts of Chester County myself in order to Locate a small quantity of Land unto which I had purchased an original Proprietary Right; And understanding further upon the Road, that some Persons were actually come with a Mary Land Right to Survey Lands upon Sasquehannah, fifteen miles above Conestoga, I pursued my course directly thither, and happily arrived but a very few hours in time to prevent the Execution of their Design. Having the Surveyor General of this Province along with me in Company, after a little Consideration, I ordered him to Locate and Survey some part of the Right I possessed, viz.; only five hundred acres upon that Spot on the other Side Sasquehannah, which was like to prove a Bone of Contention, and breed so much mischief, and he did so accordingly upon the 4th and 5th days of this Instant April, after which I returned to Conestogoe, in order to discourse with the Indians upon what had happened.[14]

He was none too soon with his scheme to forestall the Maryland survey. For a company of people under Maryland authority and in partnership with the Maryland Proprietor was busy sinking shafts and prospecting for mines

[14] Col. Rec., II: 160.

in that region. They were already operating a mine farther south along the Susquehanna and had designs upon the very tract which Governor Keith had reserved. Among the unpublished Calvert Papers[15] is the certificate of a survey of 200 acres made April 24, 1722, by Deputy Surveyor John Dorsey of Maryland "by virtue of a warrant granted unto Philip Syng and Thomas Browne both of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania out of his Lordships Land Office bearing date of March 28th, 1722." This tract was known as "Partner's Adventure." Another of the Calvert Papers gives an account of the examination of Philip Syng,[16] May 28, 1722, before the Governor and Council of Pennsylvania, on the charge of having surveyed land under a Maryland warrant within the bounds of the Keith tract.[17] The evidence in this examination shows that the survey on account of which Syng was apprehended and committed was the Partner's Adventure of 200 acres surveyed by John Dorsey. For this a warrant had been issued as early as March 28, 1722. Governor Keith therefore was just in time with his survey of April 4 and 5 to make good the Pennsylvania claim.

The keen disappointment of the Marylanders at their exclusion from this region and their further designs upon the land are manifest from the following letter of July 19, 1722, from the Secretary Philemon Lloyd to Lord Baltimore and Co-Partners in London:

I did myself the honor of writing to you of June 1722 . . . have seen Roach, Sing and Brown; the 3 remaining partners in the

[15] No. 274. In the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.

[16] No. 273. The warrant for his arrest (among the Calvert Papers) is dated May 27, 1722, and designates Philip Syng as a silversmith.

[17] See also Col. Rec., III: 176.

adventure. They seem very much disconcerted at the loss of their mine upon Susquehannah, of which I sent the . . . in my (last). I have received at their hands 2 ps of Oar: the one copper and Iron the other silver and iron. The mine is so strictly guarded that they tell me they could not possibly gett any more, (but) promise a larger quantity against the time that I come up to them. Which I design in six or seven days at the farthest and will then go to the place where they have several men at work in opening a copper mine, much lower down in Maryland.

Gentlemen, According to the worth and circumstances of this and other mines, I shall find myself under a necessity of doeing something with the discoverers rather than be wholly shut out from these first undertakings in case the land be allready taken up; but if not I will then lay warrants wherever I can hear of any probability of a mine. Schylers and the mine upon the Susquehannah hath made such a noise in the world, that the woods are now full of mine hunters. Many discoveries are already made; but the worth of them unknown untill shafts shall be sunk to find out the largeness and quality of the vein. Upon which account I humbly propose: [here follow four propositions to encourage the finding and reporting of mines]

Publick reports concerning the value of the mine upon Susquehannah are various and uncertain, especially of late, they have given out that the Governor &c after a great deal of pains and cost are about to quit it. On the other hand Sing, Roach, and Brown tell me, that such reports are spread abroad on purpose to give . . . oppertunity of conveying away the oar with little or no notice, they allso . . . they came from Philadelphia, 7 Waggons were in waiting near . . . transport the oar down to New Castle which is 50 miles distance, & I had . . . some persons tell me allso that a much better way be . . . to the head of one of our rivers with 30 miles land carriage.

I am not a little concerned that the reserve of 10,000 Acres formerly advised of hath not been executed. I know not by what means the Pennsylvanians had notice of it, but before our surveyor

went up (he was out of the way for some time after I sent the warrant to him) they had posted souldiers all about the woods So that our officer dared not to go and execute the warrant. However I am resolved to be up among them and to lay the reserve if possible; notwithstanding if Sir William Keith hath laid out all the adjacent lands for young Penn by name of Springetts Bury qr 75,520 Acres though I believe twice that quantity may be thrust into those bounds, by reason of the terms more or less; as you will see they are there made use of in the enclosed copy of warrant.

As soon as Sing Roach &c went up; a warrant was issued out by Sir William and Sing taken upon the mine: thence carried to Philadelphia and committed to the city goal, as you will perceive by the inclosed papers which I have purposely transmitted that the rigorous methods of these people may be known. I design however to make a survey there with all imaginable secrecy, but should be heartily glad if a proper instrument were sent over (for) the taking the Lat. of the place, or that some publick directions were given to the Government for the making an (exact) discovery of the line of 40 North.[18]

The second survey was made on April 10 and 11, and covered much the same territory as Keith's survey. It was made upon the order of Penn's Commissioners of Property. The Commissioners afterwards gave as their reason for making the survey that they had been "informed that the Governor (Sir William Keith) had gone towards Susquehanna and had taken Jacob Taylor with him, which gave them some apprehension of a design which he might have on a parcel of land on the other (west) side of the Susquehanna where was supposed to be a copper mine."[19] The region covered by these surveys afterwards for some years bore the title "Keith's Mine Tract." There can be

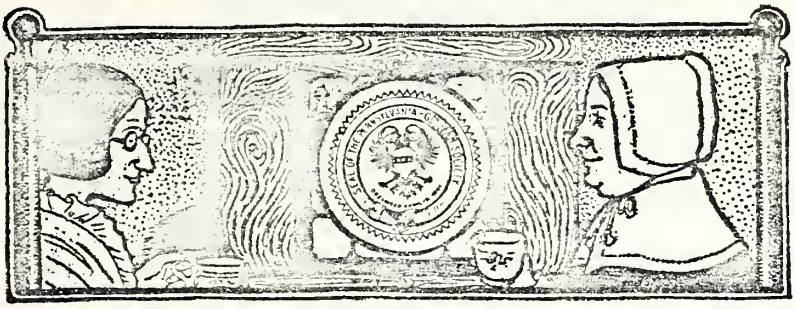
[18] The published Calvert Papers, No. 2, p. 25 ff. "Fund Publications."

[19] Minutes of the meeting of the Commissioners of Property held in Philadelphia, April 16, 1722.

little doubt therefore that the first authorized survey in York County was incited by the hope of finding some mineral or ore, either copper or gold, and that attention was directed to this region by the explorations of Lewis Michelle, the Mennonite miner, whose prospecting for mines in 1706 had led to the formal complaint of the Conestoga Indians. It is not at all surprising that Governor Keith was well informed of the movements of this advance agent of the Mennonites. For he was keenly interested in the development of the natural resources of his province and he also seems to have been generally on favoring terms with the Germans. For it was he who in 1723, of his own motion and with the subsequent disapproval of the Proprietary, placed the Germans from Schoharie, New York, in the Tulpehocken Valley.

Just how much of the present area of York County was covered by the explorations of Michelle it is not possible to ascertain but it seems certain that they extended over the present townships bordering on the river from Newberry south, and at times must have penetrated as far westward as the Cumberland Valley.[20] Much of this territory afterwards became very familiar soil, not only to the German Mennonites but also to Germans of other religious faiths.

[20] For the formal complaint of the Indians (supra, p. 5) stated that "divers Europeans, namely: Mitchel (a Swiss), Peter Bezalion, James le Tort, Martin Chartiere, the French glover of Philadelphia, Flranck, a young man of Canada, who was lately taken up here, being all French men, and one from Virginia, who also spoke French, had seated themselves and built houses upon the branches of the Patowmack, within this government, and pretended that they were in search of some mineral or Ore, &c." Col. Rec., II: 403 f.



CHAPTER II.

The First Settlers.

THE earliest attempts at settlement within the present limits of the county were made before the land had been purchased from the Indians, hence before any kind of title could be given according to established usage. Those who thus entered unpurchased Indian lands were known as squatters. The first white squatter on the territory west of the Susquehanna was John Grist (otherwise Crist, Krist, Greist). He was an Englishman who came to York County from Hempfield Township, Lancaster County, in 1719 or 1720.[1] Grist was accompanied in this move by several other persons. They settled near the mouth of Kreutz Creek known in Keith's survey of 1722

[1] The fact referred to in footnote 20 of Chapter I that Michelle and others had, according to testimony of the Indians in 1707, "seated themselves and built houses upon the branches of the Potowmack within this Government" can hardly be taken to mean that they were the first squatters west of the Susquehanna. For they were merely prospectors and adventurers. They certainly made no substantial improvements such as would constitute their houses a "settlement" or "plantation." They quickly moved on to other fields of exploration. In fact Michelle had already many weeks before the complaint of the Indians moved on to Maryland soil. Col. Rec., II: 404.

as "White Oak Branch." We are able now to determine very definitely the exact spot where Grist settled and planted his corn. Two drafts of the Keith survey are in existence, one in York and one in the Department of Internal Affairs at Harrisburg. The draft at Harrisburg identifies the settlement of John Grist with the habitation of Captain Beaver, an Indian. The draft in York fixes the habitation of Captain Beaver at about the spot now covered by the Pennsylvania Railroad Station at Wrightsville. This then was the location of Grist's house and improvement.[2]

But the new settlement was very short-lived. Grist soon came into conflict with the Indians who resented his intrusion upon their domain. And in 1721, upon complaint of the Indians and after repeated warnings and threats from the Commissioners of Property, he was fined and imprisoned in the jail at Philadelphia and was given his liberty only out of compassion for his poor family and on condition that he and his "accomplices" would remove at once from the west side of the river and that he would be placed under heavy bond for his good behavior. This was "judged absolutely necessary for the quiet of the Indians, and also to prevent such audacious behavior in contempt of the authority of this government in the time to come."[3]

[2] It is evidently not accurate when Rupp says ("History of Lancaster and York Counties," p. 529) that Grist was accompanied by "divers other families," for the provincial authorities deal with Grist alone and the "divers other persons" mentioned in the Colonial Records were probably only his associates in labor.

[3] Col. Rec., III: 137. This same John Grist afterwards, in 1738, settled 298 acres on the Bermudian Creek in Manchester Township in the western part of York County, receiving his final warrants for the same on July 23, 1742 and October 25, 1747. Lancaster County Records.

It might seem that this treatment was severe enough to serve its purpose of preventing any further attempts at squatting west of the Susquehanna. Nevertheless it was not long until others crossed the river from Lancaster County and settled on the west bank. In 1722, shortly after making the survey of Keith's Mine Tract, Governor Keith made a treaty with the Indians guaranteeing them the territory south and west of the Susquehanna for their exclusive possession. But in spite of this agreement it was shortly thereafter, perhaps even beginning in that same year, that three Englishmen, Edward Parnell, Paul Williams, and Jefferey Sumerford, and one German, Michael Tanner,[4] took up their abodes on the west side of the river opposite the Indian town of Conojahela, about three and a half miles south of the former settlement of John Grist.[5] Here these intruders remained until late in the year 1727 and that too not without the knowledge of the Pennsylvania authorities.[6] But in the fall of 1727 upon the complaint of the Conestoga Indians they were removed by order of the deputy governor and council. And again for

[4] Tanner could not have joined the rest until 1727, for he did not reach the port of Philadelphia until September 27th of that year.

[5] It is a confusion of facts when Carter and Glossbrenner, the first historians of the County, assert that these men had come from Maryland and were known as "the Maryland intruders." They were indeed intruders upon the territory of the Indians but they had come from Pennsylvania.

[6] For Wright and Blunston in their report to Governor Gordon in 1732 state that until about two years before 1729 Parnell and the others had been settled west of the river and "for several years had paid uninterrupted acknowledgement to this Province." Archives, I: 364 and Col. Rec., III: 470. The deposition of Tobias Hendricks (Dec., 1732) states that "during the continuance of the said Parnel, Williams and Others there, they paid taxes to this Province, Applied there for Justice, and in all cases acknowledged themselves Inhabitants of Pensylvania, until they were Removed from thence by Order of the Governor of Pensylvania, at the Request of the Conestogoe Indians." Archives, I: 362.

a short interval the lands west of the broad river lay vacant for the exclusive convenience of the Indians.

By this time it had become evident that no permanent or successful settlement could be made west of the river without securing either the consent of the Indians or the authorization of the colonial government. Accordingly the next effort at pioneer improvement on the new soil proceeds with the consent of the secretary of the province. This first authorized settlement within the present limits of our county was made in 1728, a few months before Lancaster County was organized and separated from Chester County. In the summer of that year John Hendricks removed from the banks of the Conestoga about three miles north of the Susquehanna and under the authority of government settled west of the Susquehanna upon the tracts from which John Grist and his companions had been compelled to remove in 1721. The circumstances attending this settlement will help us to understand something of the conditions under which the earliest settlements in York County took their beginnings.

Hendricks's removal to the west side of the river had been under contemplation for several years. The hunting-trips of Hendricks and his relations had often taken them across the river and thus they had become fairly familiar with the soil on the west bank. Early in the year 1727 John Hendricks had applied to James Logan, secretary of the Province, for permission to take up land and settle west of the river. At the same time a similar application was made by Joseph Chapham. Hendricks told Logan that the Indians west of the river were desirous that that he should settle there. Now Logan had heard that some people from Maryland were about to make surveys

on those lands. Accordingly upon the application of Hendricks and Chapham, Logan ordered Samuel Blunston, a magistrate located on the east bank of the Susquehanna, to survey a tract west of the river opposite Hempfield embracing about 1,000 or 1,500 acres. This was to be surveyed to William Penn, grandson of the first proprietor, and was to be regarded as part of the 10,000 acres devised by the proprietor to his grandson. It was hoped that this arrangement would both forestall any claim to the land that the Marylanders might put forth and at the same time give no offense to the Indians. Logan also instructed Blunston that if Hendricks and Chapham could secure the consent of the Indians, they together with Hendricks's brother James should be permitted to make settlement on part of the tract west of the river.

In July, 1727, Blunston crossed the river and marked the four corners of a tract such as he had been ordered to survey. The actual survey was not then made because, as he explained, "at that time the weeds being so high we could not chain it nor carry an instrument to any purpose." Meanwhile Chapham had given up his intention of settling there and had moved to Carolina. Moreover the attitude of the Indians had become such that John and James Hendricks did not regard it as a safe venture to settle west of the river. For their brother Henry together with one Thomas Linvil had during the summer settled as squatters on the Codorus Creek at a point twelve miles west of the Susquehanna but the violent opposition of the Indians had forced them to withdraw. Thus no authorized settlement was effected in that year.

But John Hendricks persisted. In the fall of the year 1727 he appealed to Logan a second time for permission

to settle on the tract which had been marked off. But he was now informed that since the Indians insisted upon their rights and were determined that there should be no settlements of whites within their domain, no such permission as Hendricks sought could be granted by the authorities. However during the year 1728 the Indians began to grow cool in the assertion of their rights as over against the Pennsylvanians. For they began to realize from sad experience that if they hindered the citizens of Pennsylvania from settling in those parts the Marylanders would occupy them by force without any consideration for the rights or feelings of the Indians. Marking this change of sentiment among the aborigines John Hendricks during the summer of 1728 removed across the river with his wife Rebecca and took up his abode upon the former plantation of John Grist.[7] This he did without any further license than that which he had already received, namely, permission of the secretary of the Province to settle on a part of the tract marked off for William Penn, on condition that he first secure the consent of the Indians. As the Indians never objected to Hendricks's settlement there this settlement was always regarded by the authorities as legal and authorized.[8] The tract on

[7] Local historians following Carter and Glossbrenner have always assigned 1729 as the date when both John and James Hendricks settled west of the river. But these statements are erroneous, as is evident from the clear and reliable account of Samuel Blunston (see Appendix *A*) and from the provisional warrant issued by Thomas Penn in 1733 (vide infra, p. 27). This date is also attested by a third document, a letter from Samuel Blunston to Richard Peters dated March 25, 1740, in which he says: "Inclosed herewith is a draught of the tract of land I bought of John Hendricks . . . the land was surveyed to and settled by John Hendricks in the year 1728 by order and consent of the proprietary commissioners." Penna. Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII, p. 219.

[8] For example, the Provincial Council makes reference in 1737 to "John

which Hendricks lived was formally surveyed to him by Blunston during the last week of November, 1729. It included 600 acres and constituted about one half, "the uper side and best part," of the tract originally marked off for the proprietor.[9]

The proprietary warrant for this survey and settlement was not issued until March 20, 1733. It was then issued on behalf of John Hendricks, James Hendricks, and Joshua Minshall. For John Hendricks did not long enjoy the distinction of being the only authorized settler west of the river. About the year 1731 James Hendricks, his brother, came and settled on a part of the tract on which John lived "it always being understood to be their equal right." But in the early spring of 1732 James was accidentally shot and killed by his father while they were hunting turkeys, and his widow sold out her rights in the property to Joshua Minshall. Minshall settled on the land which he had thus bought and when Thomas Penn the following spring approved the survey and issued a conditional grant it read as follows:

Wheras upon the Application of John & James Hendricks & some others, Inhabitants of Pensilvania the Commissioners of Property did in the year 1728 order Samuel Blunston to lay out a Tract of Land of Twelve hundred Acres lying on the West Side of Susquehannah opposite to Hempfield; which Land was then settled by the said Parties, and is now in the Possession of the said John Hendricks and Joshua Minshall, who holds in right of the said

Hendricks, who for some years lived on the west side of Susquehannah, on a Tract of Land laid out to him by the Authority of this Government." Col. Rec., IV: 150.

[9] The draft of this survey was promised to Logan (as per Blunston's Letter). If it was ever made it has since been lost. But the location of the tract is well known, being identical with the former plantation of John Grist.

James Hendricks; and it appearing to me that the said John Hendricks & Joshua Minshall are settled upon the said Land by regular Surveys—ordered to be made in the Year 1728 of which I approve and will order a Patent or Patents to be drawn for that share of the Land laid out to the said John and James Hendricks to John Hendricks and Joshua Minshall as soon as the Indian Claim thereon shall be satisfied—on the same Terms other Lands in the County of Lancaster shall be granted. Philadelphia, 20th March 1732/3.[10]

It has usually been assumed that these first settlers within the present limits of York County were Englishmen. It is impossible to trace them farther back than their settlement in Lancaster County, and in the absence of information to the contrary they have been regarded as English. The earliest historians of the county, Carter and Glossbrenner, in their "History of York County" take the English nationality of the Hendrickses for granted. "The earliest settlers were English; these were, however, soon succeeded by vast numbers of German immigrants." In this they are followed implicitly by all the other historians of the county from Day to Gibson and Prowell. Thus Day quotes the above authors with approval and remarks: "John and James Hendricks in the spring of 1729, made the first settlement. . . . They were soon followed by other families, principally Germans, who settled around them within ten or twelve miles."[11] Other writers have been content to accept the statement of these early authorities on the history of the county. Their conclusion is doubtless drawn from the associations and the names of the Hendrickses.

They came from an English Quaker community in the

[10] Now in the Land Office at Harrisburg.

[11] Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania, p. 693.

township of Conestoga. Here in 1715 "James Hendricks and company" had taken up a tract of 1,100 acres on the Conestoga Creek. This tract was divided out among the members of the "company" and became a strong Quaker community. This James Hendricks was the father of James and John, the earliest settlers west of the river, and associated with him in his "company" were such men as Jeremy Langhorne, Thomas Baldwin, David Priest, and Tobias Hendricks. These families were closely intermarried. Thus John Hendricks was married to Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Baldwin. This would seem to indicate also religious affinity between the Hendrickses and the Baldwins, who were English Quakers.[12]

Moreover their immediate associates east of the river were in all cases English. The elder James Hendricks kept an ordinary where the highway from Philadelphia and Lancaster forded the Conestoga Creek. When the Hendrickses migrated west of the river their property on the Conestoga was bought by an Englishman, John Postlethwait. John Hendricks's first petition to settle west of the river was made jointly with Joseph Chapham. Here again the name is unmistakably English as is also the case with Thomas Linvil, the man associated with Henry Hendricks, brother of John and James, in the effort made in 1727 to affect a settlement on the Codorus twelve miles west of the Susquehanna. Moreover the widow of James Hendricks sold out her rights to the English Quaker, Joshua Minshall. And afterwards when John Hendricks removed from Hellam Township to Manchester Township he took up land adjoining Francis Worley, another name prominent among the Quakers. These close asso-

[12] Rebecca Hendricks in her deposition of Dec. 29, 1732, is specifically designated "one of the People called Quakers." Archives, I: 361 f.

ciations of the Hendrickses with the Quakers may be held to justify the conclusion that they were themselves Quakers and Englishmen. It can hardly be argued as against this conclusion that John Hendricks took up arms and participated actively in the border warfare between the Marylanders and the Pennsylvanians. For it is a well-known fact that in spite of their scruples against armed force, the hardy pioneer Quakers did sometimes in cases of emergency and for reasons of self-defense join in the appeal to arms.

But when consideration is had for the names of these earliest settlers themselves the argument for their English nationality seems less conclusive. The name Hendricks may be either English or German. It is of frequent occurrence among the pioneer Germans of Pennsylvania. The name Hendrick appears repeatedly, both as Christian name and as surname, in the lists of German immigrants who arrived at the port of Philadelphia between 1727 and 1775.[13] The transition from Hendrick to Hendricks, like that from Myer to Myers, was easy and quite usual. And although John and James Hendricks were located on the banks of the Conestoga before these lists of German immigrants began to be kept in Philadelphia, nevertheless it is an established fact that there were Germans in Pennsylvania by the name of Hendricks (not merely Hendrick) early in the eighteenth century. For in the list of Germans naturalized by act of the Assembly September 29, 1709,[14] are found the names of Wilhelm Hendricks, Henrich Hen-

[13] Instances of such names are pointed out by H. L. Fisher in Gibson's "History of York County," p. 222. These lists of immigrants are to be seen in the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg. They were edited and published in substantially correct form in 1856 by Professor I. Daniel Rupp, Rupp's "Collection of Thirty Thousand Names, etc."

[14] Col. Rec., II: 493.

dricks, Gerhart Hendricks, and Lorentz Hendricks.[15] So far therefore as the family name of John and James Hendricks is concerned it is altogether possible that they were Germans.

Nor does the argument from their Christian names exclude the possibility of the German nationality of these first settlers. The Christian name James is indeed a good Quaker name and may be regarded as a strong indication of English heritage. For it occurs quite often among the kin of the pioneer settlers west of the Susquehanna. Their father was named James. And John had a son named James.[16] But too much weight must not be attached to the inference from names alone as they occurred in those days of commingling races and languages. For as a matter of fact, in the second generation of Germans in America the name James does sometimes occur. And it may perhaps have occurred, by translation from the German, even in the first generation. For instance, as early as 1738, at the organization of the German Baptist Church of the Little Conewago, one of the first elders of the Church bears the name James Hendrick.[17]

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[15] Rupp's "Collection," p. 431. Michael Hendricks paid the yearly quitrent in Frederick Township, Philadelphia County, before 1734. Rupp's "Collection," p. 472.

[16] There was a James Hendricks in the western part of Lancaster County even after the death of James the brother of John Hendricks in 1732. He was connected with the first use of violence in the border difficulties west of the river. He was a carpenter, lived east of the river, and was employed by James Patterson in 1733 to make trips across the river to look after Patterson's horses there. We have two depositions made by him. In the one he is called a Quaker and makes affirmation (Nov. 25, 1732). In the other he takes oath (Apr. 7, 1733). In both cases he makes his mark for a signature. Archives, I: 348 f. and 399 f. Also Col. Rec., 4: 655.

[17] See Falkenstein, "History of the German Baptist Brethren Church," p. 97.

Moreover it is a significant fact that James Logan in a letter to Samuel Blunston of May 10, 1727,[18] when he has occasion incidentally to refer to the younger James Hendricks erroneously calls him Hendrick Hendricks. This is a purely German name and was the correct name of another brother of James and John. Samuel Blunston afterwards calls this third brother Henry, which is but the English translation of Hendrick. Then too, in the course of their correspondence both Logan and Blunston refer to the father of James and John as Jacobus. This is the German for James and this fact taken in connection with the occurrence of the German name Hendrick among the sons of Jacobus raises a high degree of presumption in favor of the German nationality of these Hendrickses.

Several years later when the Germans west of the river felt that as a class they were being treated with injustice and subjected to indignities they united among themselves to assert their rights and on this occasion their principal leaders and spokesmen were two men named Henry Hendricks and Michael Tanner. These Samuel Blunston speaks of as "the most principal Note among those Germans."[19] The identity of this Henry Hendricks with the Henry Hendricks who was a son of Jacobus Hendricks cannot be proved beyond doubt, but neither can it be successfully denied. It is, however, quite conceivable that Henry Hendricks, son of Jacobus, having made an unsuccessful effort in 1727 to settle on the banks of the Codorus, should have repeated the effort after his brothers had succeeded, that he should have been among the first to settle in that region when settlers began to crowd into it, and that this priority as well as his former English associations

[18] See Appendix *A*.

[19] Col. Rec., IV: 57 and 75.

should have marked him together with Michael Tanner, another of the earliest settlers, as leaders among their countrymen.

A similar inference may be drawn from the conduct of John Hendricks after he settled on the west bank of the river. For some years he was quite content and loyal to the Pennsylvania government under whose authority he had settled there. But then he became dissatisfied with the amount and the location of the land which had been assigned to him. In the spring of 1735 he appeared before the proprietaries and complained of the "unfair and dishonest usage" he had received at the hands of John Wright and Samuel Blunston in relation to the land west of the Susquehanna. This was the occasion of Blunston's informing correspondence cited above. Blunston's explanations and endeavors evidently did not satisfy Hendricks for from this time forth he sympathizes warmly with the Marylanders. In 1736 we find him harboring them on his plantation and giving them aid in their aggressions. And in January, 1737, we find him imprisoned in the jail at Lancaster for "having unhappily engaged himself on the side of Maryland and been concerned in some of their late riots."[20] It is highly improbable that if John Hendricks had been an English Quaker in good standing he would have manifested such violent opposition to the Quaker government or such acrimony against such prominent individuals among the Quakers as were John Wright and Samuel Blunston. Nor would it have been necessary for these Friends to bring about his imprisonment and to bind him to keep the peace. This would have been a very unusual proceeding of Friends against a Friend. The prob-

[20] Col. Rec., IV: 150.

ability is that if John was not a German he was at least not bound to the English Quakers of Lancaster County with such strong bonds of intimacy and nationality that they could not be severed.

Nevertheless before the Hendrickses crossed the Susquehanna they were evidently regarded as Englishmen by their fellow-citizens in Chester County. For in an old assessment list[21] for "Conestoga," Chester County, which gives the names of all the inhabitants of the Conestoga district in the year 1718 together with the rate for each, the inhabitants are distinguished as "English" and "Dutch." Here we find the names of James Hendricks and John Hendricks listed among the "English inhabitants."

A similar inference may be drawn from the case of the Tobias Hendricks mentioned above as one of the members of "James Hendricks and company" settled on the Conestoga in 1715. Here the names, both Christian and surname, might be either English or German.[22] But this Tobias Hendricks was certainly regarded as English, for he became one of the magistrates of the peace for Lancaster County about 1727[23] and served repeatedly in that capacity. His signature, still to be found on many documents in the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg, is always in English script. From the appearance of his signature in 1737 and from the fact that he died as an old man in 1739 he seems to have belonged to the generation

[21] In the court house at West Chester. Copied by Gilbert Cope, Esq., and published in Egle's "Notes and Queries," Second Series, p. 131.

[22] The Christian name Tobias is of frequent occurrence among the Germans of Pennsylvania and John Tobias is the full name of a German who arrived in New York port Sept. 17, 1743. See *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 33, p. 232.

[23] According to his own affirmation. Archives, I: 362.

of the elder James Hendricks and was probably his brother.[24]

But here again midst the conclusive evidence for the English nationality of Tobias Hendricks there are clear indications of close relationship with the Germans. For Tobias Hendricks, Jr., second son of the magistrate, very early associated himself with the Germans of York County in religious affairs. He was one of the founders of the German Lutheran Congregation of the Codorus. In the baptismal records of that Church his name appears as one of the heads of families in that congregation. All the other members of the Church were pure Germans. But it is a significant fact that a slight distinction is made in the Church Record between Tobias Hendricks and the other members of the Church. Pastor Stöver, who kept the record, made all the entries in deep German script with the sole exception of the entry concerning Hendricks. His name is written in English script. The words of the entry are written in the German language and in German script but the English (or Latin) name of one of the children baptized is also in English script like the superscription "Tobias Hendricks."[25] This is a clear indica-

[24] He died in the Cumberland Valley west of the river in Nov. 1739, leaving a wife, Catherine, one daughter, Rebecca, and six sons. Egle's "Notes and Queries," Vol. II, 1896, p. 264. He was the ancestor of Vice-President Thomas A. Hendrix.

[25] This record is in the possession of Pastor Enders of York. The entry referred to is as follows (the words in English script are here in italic):

Tobias Hendrick

Geb. Getauft

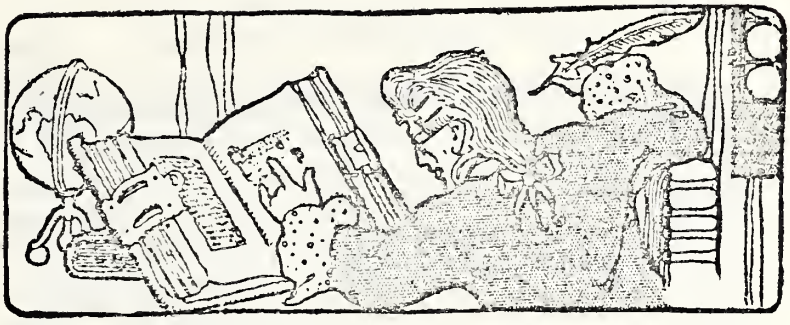
[Here are records of baptisms of two sons, Joh. Jacob and Joh., and two daughters, Elizabetha and Rebecca.]

1744 1744

Jan. 30.—Eine tochter *Veronica* zeug. Joh: Wolf.—April 15.

tion that Tobias Hendricks, though associated with the Germans in their worship, was nevertheless regarded by Pastor Stöver as English.

What conclusion may we draw from these considerations? It is highly probable, but remains without positive proof, that these Hendrickses were of German descent, that their ancestors one or two generations previous were Mennonites in Switzerland or in the Rhine Valley and had fled before persecution and found refuge in England; that there they quickly associated themselves with their English brethren in the faith, the Quakers, and with them came to America. In this case they might be called Englishmen of German descent, and this would account for their German spirit of enterprise in pushing across the Susquehanna and locating where they did, while at the same time it would account for their English associations and the English form of their Christian names. Certain it is that soon after their location in York County the Hendrickses were close associates of the Germans who followed them into the county. They sympathized with them in times of adversity and coöperated with them in matters of religion. But while there were these strong bonds of sympathy and coöperation, perhaps even ties of blood between these pioneer Hendrickses and the early Germans in the county, nevertheless the places from which they came, their associates before their migration, together with the other evidence in the case, seem to leave little room for doubt that John and James Hendricks were regarded as Englishmen when they crossed the Susquehanna and that the honor of the first authorized settlements in York County cannot be claimed for the pure Germans.



CHAPTER III.

The First Settlement.

IF the first individual settler in the county was not a German the first community of settlements did undoubtedly consist of German settlers and those parts of the county which were first tamed and subdued to the purposes of civilization have from the beginning borne the stamp of German language and culture.

It was in that same valley of the Kreutz Creek where the Hendrickses were settled and where unsuccessful efforts at permanent settlement had previously been made that the first stream of newcomers from the eastern side of the Susquehanna deposited itself. It followed very closely upon the settlement of John Hendricks in 1728. Even before that settlement was consummated many of the settlers east of the river had begun to manifest a desire to settle on the west bank. The Shawannah Indians of the village opposite Hempfield had removed into the interior. The false impression had got abroad among the people east of the river that the Indians of the Five Nations had resigned their claims to the lands on this part of the Susquehanna, and a letter of August 10, 1727, from James

Logan to Samuel Blunston indicates that not a few citizens of Pennsylvania were prospecting daily on the lands beyond the river with a view to staking out claims and settling there. We have one instance of this in the effort of Henry Hendricks and Thomas Linvil mentioned above.[1] Such settlements were, however, prevented for the time being. But when the opposition of the Indians subsided and when Hendricks had made a beginning, a veritable tide of immigration began to rise and sweep into the new territory. Many of these settlers took the trouble to secure the permission of the proprietary representative. Others settled irregularly though not without the knowledge and tacit consent of the government. It is known, for example, that Caspar Spangler settled in the valley in 1729 and that Tobias Frey had settled there prior to 1733.[2] Already in November, 1729, Blunston could write to Logan: "Many people out of this province are for removing over the River so that I doubt not but another year will settle most of the habitable land for they flock over daily in search. The remainder of that by Hendricks would have been settled before now had they not been prevented."[3]

These settlers all took up their claims in the valley of the Kreutz Creek stretching westward and southwestward from John Hendricks's property. Hendricks's plantation was the oldest and therefore the best known of the plantations in that neighborhood and so was used to designate the location of other places. A number of these settlers afterwards in their depositions in referring to the location of their plantations would regularly affirm that they were

[1] Vide supra, p. 25.

[2] "The Spengler Families With Local Historical Sketches," pp. 17 and 138.

[3] Vide Appendix *A*.

situated a certain number of miles westward or southwestward from John Hendricks.[4] The nationality of these earliest settlers in the community of the Kreutz Creek was almost without exception German. This fact is important for the subsequent history of the county and for a while it entailed rather serious consequences upon the settlers themselves. Carter and Glossbrenner remark: "The earliest settlers were English; these were however succeeded by vast numbers of German immigrants. . . . Most of the German immigrants settled in the neighborhood of Kreutz Creek. . . . In the whole of what was called the 'Kreutz Creek Settlement' (if we except Wrightsville) there was but one English family, that of William Morgan." We have it upon the same good authority that the first tailor in the county was Valentine Heyer, that the first blacksmith was Peter Gardner, that the first shoemaker was Samuel Landis, who had his shop somewhere on the Kreutz Creek, that the first stone dwellings were built in 1735 on the Kreutz Creek by John and Martin Schultz. The first schoolmaster was known by no other name than "Der Dicke Schulmeister." Thus all the known arts of that primitive civilization among the county's first inhabitants were in the hands of Germans. The number and names of these earliest German settlers in the Kreutz Creek settlement, their legal status and their distressing experiences in their new homes we shall be able to understand after we have taken a glance at a parallel effort at settlement that was being made by Marylanders.

This Maryland settlement within the present limits of York County centered about the spot from which Parnell and others had been compelled to remove in 1728. The

[4] For example, Pennsylvania Archives, I: 523, 524; Col. Rec., III: 613.

settling of the Marylanders here began in the year 1729 and grew rapidly during the next few years. Already on November 30, 1729, Blunston wrote to Logan "All the land about Parnels[5] is surveyed and settled by Marylanders." Afterwards when the dispute concerning the boundary had become acute the Marylanders sought to establish their claim to the region by proving their priority in time of settlement. For in 1736 after the undignified controversy between the provinces had led to forceful conflicts and among other acts of violence the house of Col. Thomas Cressap, a Marylander settled at the mouth of Cabin Branch on the west bank of the Susquehanna, had been burned over his head, evidence was adduced to show that a number of persons living in the immediate neighborhood of Cressap's house had held lands under Maryland warrants for several years. Thus the evidence of Stephen Onion, taken at Annapolis on January 12, 1736, and preserved in the unpublished Calvert Papers,[6] indicates that in 1729 Onion had secured a warrant from the Maryland office for "Pleasant Garden" which he sold to Thomas Cressap who settled and built "soon after it was surveyed"; that by virtue of a warrant from the Maryland office in the same year Jacob Herrington surveyed and "soon thereafter settled" a tract of 81 acres called "Bulford"; that in 1730 by the same authority Thomas Bond secured a tract of 460 acres called "Bond's Mannour" and settled thereon William Cannon and John Lowe; that by virtue of warrant dated December 19, 1729, Onion had surveyed on June 2, 1730, a tract of 600 acres called "Conhodah" and had occupied the same in February,

[5] Parnell evidently had been located there long enough to give his name to the place.

[6] No. 319.

1732; that in 1731 Onion had secured a tract of 290 acres called "Smith's Choice" which was occupied by William Smith. "And this deponent also saith that before the improvements made on the said lands by the said settlers there were no improvements on them that this deponent saw but a few Indian Cabbins and a little hutt made of logs and a small quantity of ground cleared by a White Man who was driven away by the Indians as this deponent was informed and which hutt was sometimes empty and at other times possessed by the Indians and that no white person or persons was or were settled on any of the lands to this deponent's knowledge or that he hath heard of when the people herein beforementioned settled and improved the same, and further this deponent saith not."

Now Cressap's log house is known to have stood upon the spot cleared and improved by Edward Parnell and others and relinquished by them on order of the Pennsylvania government in 1728. It was therefore about three and one half miles south of the property of John and James Hendricks.[7] The other tracts referred to in Onion's deposition adjoined the Cressap property. For on March 1, 1736, Rachael Evans testified that her husband Edward Evans lived "about one and one half miles from Cressap's late dwelling house"; that Jacob Herrington lived one and one fourth miles westward from Cressap; that William Smith lived two miles westward from Cressap; and that Robert Cannon lived one and one half miles north from Cressap. Adjoining Cannon was John Lowe less than a mile westward from Cressap's house.[8] No dates are given

[7] The foundations and cellar of the house are still to be seen on the Maish property in Lower Windsor Township. A photograph of these remains in the possession of the York County Historical Society.

[8] No. 319.

for the actual settlement of these persons except in the case of Stephen Onion himself, and this date (February, 1732) in all probability refers not to his first occupation but to a later location. But from other sources it would appear that Thomas Cressap was the first settler there. For on September 13, 1731, Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania complained to Governor Calvert of Maryland because for several months he had heard rumors about grants from the Maryland Office for lands on the west side of the Susquehanna. Two weeks later the Indian Captain Civility complained to Samuel Blunston of Lancaster County because Cressap had settled at Conejohela and had been disturbing the peace of the Indians there. And the following January Cressap himself declared under oath that he had been living on the west side of the Susquehanna since March 16, 1731.[9] Stephen Onion seems therefore to have been the first Marylander to take out a warrant for land in that neighborhood and Thomas Cressap seems to have been the first settler. But as Onion's warrant was not secured until 1729 and as Cressap did not settle there until 1731 it is clear that the Maryland settlements could not have followed very closely upon that of John Hendricks and certainly the closing sentence in Onion's deposition is a mistake. Priority of authorized settlement in the Kreutz Creek Valley cannot be maintained for the Maryland settlers even if this had constituted a valid claim to the territory. But from the foregoing it is evident that the settlements under Maryland authority were early enough and numerous enough and far enough north to constitute a real source of apprehension to any others who might claim jurisdiction over those parts.

[9] Archives, I: 291, 295, and 311.

Now it was the bitter conflict between the English citizens of Maryland gathered about Thomas Cressap at the mouth of Cabin Branch and the German citizens of Pennsylvania whose plantations stretched westward and southwestward from John Hendricks along the Kreutz Creek Valley, that shaped events among the very earliest inhabitants of our county and occupied the attention of both the settlers and the provincial authorities for several years. And it is from the documents pertaining to this conflict that we draw much of our information concerning those earliest settlers.[10]

[10] This conflict was one of the incidents in the general contention between the two provinces concerning the boundary. William Penn received his title to Pennsylvania from the British Crown in 1681, and for more than eighty years thereafter the boundary lines between his province and Maryland were the source of almost constant dispute. There is now a bulky literature pertaining to this controversy and its tedious negotiations. Many of the documents bearing on the dispute are found scattered over the Archives and Colonial Records of the two provinces, and many of them remain unpublished among the "Penn Papers" in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, in the Department of Internal Affairs and the Division of Public Records at Harrisburg, and in the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore (vide, *e. g.*, Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII, pp. 301–400; for other literary references see Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. III, p. 514). A brief statement of the issues involved and the facts of the negotiations is found in the article by J. Dunlop, "The Controversy between William Penn and Lord Baltimore," in the "Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Vol. I, pp. 163–204. A popular statement of the case in brief compass is Chapter XI of Sydney George Fisher's "The Making of Pennsylvania."

Suffice it to say here that the whole difficulty concerning the southern boundary of Pennsylvania grew out of ignorance on the part of the proprietors in England as to the location of the 40th degree of latitude in America. Lord Baltimore's grant (1632) was merely for the unoccupied part of Virginia from the Potomac northward, a very indefinite description. But in Penn's grant of 1681 the province of Pennsylvania is described as bounded "on the south by a circle drawn at twelve miles distance from Newcastle, northward and westward unto the beginning of the 40th degree of north lattude and thence by a straight line westward." Now the "begin-

It follows from the conditions of haste and irregularity under which the first surveys west of the Susquehanna were made and from the circumstances of intercolonial strife

ning of the 40th degree" from the equator is the 39th parallel. But the 39th parallel runs just north the present city of Washington. And the 40th parallel runs somewhat north of Philadelphia. Neither of these parallels falls within 12 miles of Newcastle. Thus the boundary was uncertain and while the propietary negotiations dragged on in England a petty border warfare began in America. The disturbances began east of the Susquehanna where the Pennsylvanians contended for lands as far south as the mouth of the Octoraro Creek, about 5 miles south of the present border. In 1723 both proprietors agreed to abstain from making further grants in the disputed territory for eighteen months or until satisfactory adjustment could be made. But years passed and no conclusion was reached. By 1732 the controversy was carried into the region west of the Susquehanna, and here the Marylanders laid claim to the lands at the mouth of Cabin Branch and in the Kreutz Creek Valley, nearly thirty miles farther north than any point claimed by them east of the river. Their object was to extend the Maryland domain west of the river as far north as the 40th parallel of latitude. This region west of the river and within the present limits of York County, was the chief scene of the border warfare and the disturbances here are known as "Cressap's War."

In 1732 the proprietors of the two provinces agreed to have the boundary line surveyed. This agreement placed the southern boundary of Pennsylvania on a parallel of latitude fifteen miles south of a parallel passing through the most southerly point in Philadelphia. But because of other stipulations in this agreement it proved distasteful to Lord Baltimore and under various pretexts he delayed its fulfillment and refused to let the survey be made. So the acrimonious correspondence between the provinces continued but without effect. In 1735 the Penns began a suit in equity against Baltimore to compel him to fulfil his contract. This was not ended until 1750, when it was decided in favor of the Penns. Meanwhile repeated appeals came from America asking that a provisional line be run in order to allay the hostilities between the inhabitants of the provinces. This resulted in an order from the King establishing the "temporary line of 1739" fifteen and one fourth miles south of Philadelphia on the east side of the Susquehanna and fourteen and three fourths miles south of Philadelphia on the west side of that river. The pending proceedings in chancery resulted in 1750 in a decree that the agreement of 1732 should be carried into specific execution. But forthwith a dispute arose as to the proper methods of mensuration. This was not settled until 1760. In 1736

attending the first settlements there, that the legal status of the earliest settlers is not easy to determine. It probably was not in all cases clearly defined at the time. The Marylanders took out their claims and settled under ordinary warants from the Maryland Office. This gave them a certain advantage over those who came from Pennsylvania. For according to established custom and law in Pennsylvania no titles whatever could be granted to lands until they had been purchased from the Indians. The government of Pennsylvania did not begin to issue even temporary licenses until 1733. John and James Hendricks had settled on Indian territory before that time but this was by special permission of the proprietary government and then only on condition that they first secure the consent of the Indians. Their formal license was not issued until March, 1733, and even this was only a temporary license. But in Maryland no such custom obtained with reference to the lands of the Indians and the Maryland authorities did not hesitate to grant permits to settle on lands that had never been purchased from the natives.

The Maryland government did indeed early recognize such a purchase as desirable for the security of its people. For Philemon Lloyd, the proprietary agent at Annapolis, in a letter of October 8, 1722, to the "Co-Partners" in London urges at great length a treaty with the Susquehanna Indians and then remarks,

I do assure you Gentlemen that something of this Nature is very necessary to be don; for now, that we are about Lycencing our

two expert surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, were sent to America to supervise the survey of the boundary. This survey, carrying out the agreement of 1732, was completed on December 26, 1767, and has given us the famous Mason and Dixon Line, celebrated now as the dividing line between the two sections of the country during the Civil War.

People, to make Remote Settlements, we must likewise use the Proper Measures to protect them; for the Lands next above our Settlements upon the west side of the Susquehannah, and all along upon the West side of Baltimore County, are cutt off & separated from the Present Inhabited Parts by large Barrens, many Miles over; so that as yet, the setlers there can expect very little Communication with us; yet if they should be Cutt off & Murthered by the Indians we must insist upon Satisfaction for the security of our present Outer Inhabitants; which may involve us in a fatall War. But by this Means of Purchasing those Indian Rights, we may think ourselves pretty secure, as well from those Indians themselves as from any strange Indians that shall traverse those Woods.[11]

Nevertheless no such purchase was ever made by Maryland and hence the Marylanders who took up lands within the limits of our county must be regarded as squatters and not as authorized settlers. They had warrants, it is true, but the validity of these warrants was always denied by the Pennsylvania authorities who claimed that whole region under the terms of the royal grant to William Penn.

Not until January, 1733, did the proprietary government of Pennsylvania begin to issue its first licenses to take up land west of the river. The settlements that had been made there by Pennsylvanians before 1733 had been permitted by the government authorities with the consent of the Indians but no titles had been given. It was hoped that the lands west of the Susquehanna would soon be purchased from the aborigines and thus the Indian policy of the Penns might be carried out. Thomas Penn (son of William Penn, Sr.) arrived in the province August, 1732, and John Penn (eldest son of William) came in October, 1734.[12] But the Indian purchase west of the river was

[11] Calvert Papers, No. 2, p. 54.

[12] John Penn returned to London the following year to care for the interests of Pennsylvania in the boundary dispute with Lord Baltimore. Thomas Penn remained in the province until 1741.

not consummated until late in the year 1736. Meanwhile the incursions of the Marylanders which Governor Keith more than a decade before had made the excuse for his survey of the "Mine Tract," were becoming a real menace to the proprietary rights in that region. The settlers from Maryland and under Maryland authority were pushing farther and farther north and were growing constantly bolder and more annoying along the west bank of the Susquehanna. The provincial authorities of Pennsylvania became convinced that active measures must be taken to secure the rights of their province in that region.

The Maryland authorities had long before felt that special inducements ought to be offered to settlers in that region. Their custom did not prevent them from issuing full warants for settlements on Indian lands. But even this, they felt, was not enough and ten years before the government of Pennsylvania took any measures to settle the new territory the proprietary agent at Annapolis had urged the granting of easy conditions for payment of warrants in order to induce citizens of Maryland to settle in this district west of the Susquehanna. Thus Philemon Lloyd, in the letter quoted above, writes:

> If this Place were well Seated, it would be a good Barrier unto the Province on that Side & doubt not, but that it would in a few years, bring on the Planting of that other Vast Body of Rich Lands, that lyes something more to the Westward; & would likewise secure our Country against the Claims of the Pensilvanians on the North side; for we are allready Seated to the Northward of that Line, which I lay down for the true Location of Pensilvania upon the Back of the 12 Mile Circle, as they have encroached upon us to the Southward of that Line about Octeraro, & to the Eastward of it, which seems to be occationed by our own too great Supiness; & makes me so desirous now, of Seating farther up the

Susquehannah; & if his Lordship should be pleased to grant 7 or 10 years Time for the Payment of the Ffines for Lands in those remote parts; he will, I verily am perswaded have his back part of his Country Seated, by more than 10 years the sooner, ... There are other Advantages, that will Acrrue from Setling the Remoter Parts of the Province, by Conditional Warrants as above proposed: the Scotts Irish, & Palatines, after the news of so great Concessions, will I imagine fflock apace in, & Even some from Pensilvania it Self;

But even without such special inducements as were here proposed, the Marylanders, as we have seen, were flocking to the west bank of the Susquehanna much to the annoyance of the provincial government and the Lancaster County authorities just east of the river and to the great unrest of the Pennsylvanians who had settled west of the river.

In order to counteract these annoying encroachments the proprietary agents of Pennsylvania began to adopt the policy of encouraging citizens of Pennsylvania to cross the Susquehanna and settle west of the river acknowledging the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania in that region. For this purpose in January, 1733, they commissioned Samuel Blunston, who lived near the river,[13] to issue temporary licenses to such persons as were willing to take up lands on the west side of the river and settle there. These licenses were afterwards confirmed by the proprietor on October 30, 1736, as soon as the lands could be purchased from the Indians. The full text of one of these confirmed Blunston licenses was presented as evidence in the case of Nicholas Perie in 1748. It is of special interest because it was doubtless the same form that was used by the proprietor

[13] At Wright's Ferry, where Columbia now stands.

in confirming the licenses of all the early German settlers in the county.

Pennsylvnia ss:

Whereas, sundry Germans and others formerly seated themselves by our Leave on Lands Lying on the West side of Sasquehanna River within our County of Lancaster, & within the bounds of a Tract of Land Survey'd the Nineteenth and Twentieth Days of June, Anno Domini, 1722, containing about Seventy thousand Acres, commonly called the Manor of Springetsbury;

And Whereas A Confirmation to the Persons seated on the same for their several tracts has hitherto been delayed by reason of the Claim made to the said Lands by the Indians of the Five Nations, which Claim the said Indians have now effectually released to Us by their Deed bearing date the Eleventh Day of this Instant, October;

And Whereas Nicholas Perie, one of the Persons living within the said Manor, hath now applied for a Confirmation of Two Hundred Acres, part of the same where he is now Seated;

I do hereby Certify that I will cause a Patent to be drawn to the said Nicholas Perie for the said Two hundred Acres (if so much can be there had without prejudice to the other settlers) on the common Terms other Lands on the West side of Sasquehanna River are granted, so soon as the said quantity shall be Survey'd to him & a return thereof made to me

October 30th, 1736. THO. PENN.[14]

The nature of these licenses reflects the primitive methods of granting lands. They were variously known by the government as "licenses," "grants," and "certificates."[15] They were not real warrants but merely approved the making of a survey and promised to order a patent to be drawn at some indefinite future time. They thus secured the

[14] Col. Rec., V: 219 f.

[15] Vide Hamilton's Warrant for Resurvey, infra, p. 53 f.

settler in his right to his settlement. The licenses had all the essential features of warrants with the single exception that they showed no previous payment of purchase money. In the litigations that arose long afterwards over these tracts the Blunston licenses were regarded by some as mere locations, by others as actual warrants. The distinction was made in the courts between "warrants on common terms" and "warrants to agree." The former were warrants issued for lands that were not reserved by the proprietor but were offered to the public at a fixed price. The latter were contracts for the possession of lands which had been surveyed from the common stock as manors, had thus been withdrawn from the public market, and so could be acquired only by special agreement.[16] The Blunston licenses were issued for lands that were supposed to lie within the Springettsbury Manor[17] and so could be acquired only by special contract or "warrants to agree." But as a matter of practice they were always issued on common terms. Note, for example, the closing sentence in the Hendricks warrant, "on the same Terms other Lands in the County of Lancaster shall be granted"[18] and the closing sentence in the Perie warrant, "on the common Terms other Lands on the West side of Sasquehanna River are granted."[19] These Blunston licenses afterwards played a very conspicuous part in the judicial investigation into the validity of the claim to these manorial lands west of the river.[20]

[16] Decisions of the Supreme Court of U. S., Wheaton, Vol. IX, p. 35, Curtis edition.

[17] They were afterwards by the resurvey of 1768 actually comprehended in that manor.

[18] Vide supra, p. 28.

[19] Vide supra, p. 49.

[20] Dallas Reports, Circuit Court, Pennsylvania District, Vol. IV, pp. 373–

Samuel Blunston kept a careful list of the persons to whom he issued permits to settle west of the river together with the approximate number of acres allowed to each one. This list he transmitted from time to time to the Land Office in Philadelphia. It was preserved in that office until 1762 but has since disappeared.[21] There is, therefore, no way of ascertaining directly the names and exact locations of the earliest settlers in the county. For no surveys of their tracts were made at the time. Blunston had surveyed in person the tract upon which John and James Hendricks had settled. He had laid out a tract of 1,200 acres and had assigned one half of it to Hendricks, "the uper side and best part." This was done by special order of the secretary of the province and the exact location of this tract is well known. But when he issued his conditional grants (1733–1736) he did not undertake the work of making the surveys and the new territory was well dotted with settlers before any surveys were made.[22] Thus on March 18, 1735,[23] Blunston wrote to Thomas Penn:

380. "Blunston's Licenses have always been deemed valid: and many titles in Pennsylvania depend upon them. . . ." *Ibid.*, p. 111. Wheaton's Reports, Vol. IX, pp. 34–73.

[21] Vide Governor Hamilton's Warrant for Resurvey of Springettsbury Manor, infra, p. 53 f. Perhaps it was on the occasion of this resurvey that the list of permits disappeared.

[22] For some years, in fact, it was the express policy of the Pennsylvania government to avoid making surveys in this region. For Governor Gordon wrote to Governor Ogle on July 26, 1732, and speaking of the agreement of 1723 he said that convention "notwithstanding the numerous Settlements made by those who forced themselves upon us from Ireland and Germany, has been so punctually observed by our office that there has not been one Survey made, as is affirmed to me by Order of that Office, within the Limits which it was conceived Maryland either could or would claim." Archives, I: 338.

[23] The date of the letter is March 18, 1734, but this was under the old method of dating. Under the modern method this would be March 18,

Though as much care as possible has been taken to prevent disputes yet many are like to arise which can never be well adjusted without surveying to each their several tracts. And as warrants are already lodged here for that purpose I make bold to propose that a surveyor of sense and honesty (if such can be had) might be sent up as soon as possible for that service, which if done with expedition I am certain would be greatly for your interest and the only sure means of a regular settlement for I do not think it proper at this critical juncture to leave the people room to quarrel among themselves. Beside in a country so scarce of water as that is if the people are alowed to be their own carvers a great part of the land will be rendred uninhabitable. This as well as the other should be timely prevented. The people are now settling building and improving daily. This is the season for surveying which cannot so well be done in any other season as the six or eight weeks coming. This I thought to mention though I know of no person in these parts to recommend yet doubtless such may soon be had. . . . I should be glad to know thy mind herein that I may be able to give the people an answer for they are generally desirous and expect it will be done.

It is not at all certain that such surveys were ever made. No drafts of these settlements are known to exist. There is no trace of the confirmed warrants in the Land Office at Harrisburg. The individual surveys had evidently not been made when the Blunston licenses were confirmed in 1736, and the words of Governor Hamilton's warrant for the resurvey of Springettsbury Manor leave little doubt that at least so far as most of the tracts were concerned no such surveys had yet been made in 1762.[24] We are left

1735. We shall hereafter give all dates as they would be under the modern method.

[24] The original survey of Springettsbury Manor, made in 1722, is still in existence. It either had been mislaid or else was being purposely suppressed at the time the resurvey was ordered in 1762. It has recently been discovered by the Hon. Robert C. Bair, of York, and was published in the

therefore to inference and incidental allusions for our information concerning the names, the nationality, and the location of the earliest settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley.

But such sources of information are not entirely lacking. It is clear in the first place that the Kreutz Creek Valley was from the beginning regarded as settled predominantly and almost entirely by Germans. For example, in Governor Hamilton's warrant of May 21, 1762, for the resurvey of Springettsbury Manor, it is set forth that the manor was originally surveyed for the use of the proprietor on the 19th and 20th of June, 1722, and that

> sundry Germans and others afterwards seated themselves by our leave on divers parts of the said manor but by reason of some claim made to those Lands by the Indians of the Five Nations (which they afterwards released to us by their Deed of the 11th day of October, 1736) the confirmations of the parts so seated in the said manor were for some time delayed. And whereas, upon our obtaining the said Release from the said Indians we did give to each of the persons so as aforesaid settled on our said Manour License or Certificate bearing date respectively the 30th day of October in the year last aforesaid, thereby promising that we would order a patent to be drawn to each of them for their respective Settle-

Pennsylvania Annual Report of the Secretary of Internal Affairs, 1905, Part I, Map *E*, where it is shown to differ widely from the relocation made under Hamilton's orders. But the words of Hamilton's warrant indicate clearly that surveys for the grants to individual settlers had not been made systematically and were really not in existence.

In the Proceedings of The Supreme Executive Council, January 25, 1787 (Col. Rec., XV: 153), there is a suggestion as to what became of such copies of patents for tracts within the Springettsbury Manor as were recorded in the secretary's office. The secretary was there instructed to deliver to the attorney of the Penns the copies of warrants which had been issued for such tracts, and the proceedings of the council on September 22, 1788, indicate that these instructions were carried out and that "several inclosures" had been thus delivered.

ments and plantations in the said Manor as soon as surveyed making in the whole by Computation 12,000 Acres or thereabouts, as in and by a Record and particular list of such Licenses or Grants remaining in our Land Office more fully appear. And whereas the survey of our said Manor is by some accident lost or mislaid and is not now to be found but by the well known Settlements and Improvements made by the said Licenced Settlers therein and the many Surveys made round the above said Manor and other proofs and Circumstances it appears that the said Manor is bounded on the East by the River Susquehannah, on the West by a North and South Line West of the late Dwelling plantation of Christian Esther, otherwise called Oyster (to which said Christian one of the said Licences or Grants was given for his Plantation) Northward by a Line nearest East and West Distant about three Miles North of the present Great Road leading from Wright's Ferry through York Town by the said Christian Oysters plantation to Monocksay and Southward by a Line near East and West distant about three Miles of the Great Road aforesaid. And whereas divers of the said Tracts and Settlements within our Manor have been surveyed and confirmed by patents to the said Settlers thereof or their assigns and many of them that have been surveyed yet remain to be confirmed by patent and the Settlers or possessors thereof have applied for such Confirmation agreeable to our said Licences or Grants whose requests we are willing and desirous to comply with and we being also desirous that a compleat Draught or Map and return Survey of our said Manor shall be replaced and remain for their and our use in Your Office and also in our Secretary's Office. . . .

The "well known settlements and improvements" of these "sundry Germans and others" were Hamilton's chief means of determining again the bounds of the manor, the original survey of which had been temporarily lost. The Blunston licenses confirmed by Thomas Penn in 1736

totaled about 12,000 acres.[25] The entire manor as relocated under Hamilton's orders embraced 64,520 acres. The Blunston licenses therefore covered about one fifth of the manor. In the subsequent litigation concerning these manorial lands the number of licenses confirmed by Thomas Penn is stated to be fifty-two.[26] Now there is abundant evidence to show that with very few exceptions these fifty-two licensed settlers occupying one fifth of the entire fertile valley afterwards included in the Springettsbury Manor were Germans.

[25] The usual grant to each settler in those days was 200 acres. The grant to John Hendricks was in this respect also an exception.

[26] In February, 1824, in the case of Kirk and others, Plaintiffs in Error, *vs.* Smith, ex. dem. Penn, Defendant in Error, tried before the Supreme Court of the United States, evidence was produced showing that the number of licensed settlers on Springettsbury Manor in 1736 was fifty-two. Chief Justice Marshall delivered the opinion of the Court on that occasion and said among other things:

"Now it appears from the statement of the testimony made in the charge of the court to the jury, which is the only regular information of the evidence given in the case, that an agreement was entered into, in 1736, between the proprietary and a number of the inhabitants, by which he agreed to make them titles for certain specified quantities of land in their possession on the common terms. This agreement is stated to have been afterwards carried into execution. The contract, as stated, contains unequivocal proof of having been made under the idea that the survey of 1722 was valid, that it related to lands within the lines of that survey, and that the lands within its lines were considered a manor. That survey may not have been attended with those circumstances which would bring it within the saving act of 1779, and certainly, in this cause, is not to be considered as a valid survey of a manor. It was nevertheless believed, in 1736 by the parties to this contract, to be a manor: and those proceedings which took place respecting lands within it, are consequently such as might take place respecting lands within a manor. We find sales of lands made to fifty-two persons upon the common terms, and grants made to them according to contract. When the final survey was made, comprehending these lands as being part of the manor of Springettsbury, were they less a part of that manor because they were granted as a part of it before the survey was made?" Wheaton's Reports, Vol. IX, February Session.

For it must be remembered that the purpose of the proprietary agents in encouraging settlements beyond the Susquehanna was to preempt that soil for those who acknowledged the claims of Pennsylvania as over against the claims of "the Maryland intruders." This was not an afterthought on the part of the Pennsylvania government, as was so often claimed by the Maryland authorities in the trying times that followed. Pennsylvania's claim to this soil was a consistent one. From the time of the arrest of Philip Syng on Keith's Tract in 1722 and the original survey of Springettsbury Manor in that same year, to the final adjustment of the difficulties almost half a century later, Pennsylvania never relinquished her claim upon this region and never consented to recognize the Susquehanna as the boundary between herself and Maryland. This claim was recognized by Parnell and his associates in 1728 and it was only with the advent of Col. Thomas Cressap that the claims of Pennsylvania in this region were aggressively denied and withstood. The property of these earliest settlers in our county, therefore, became at once the immediate bone of contention between the two colonial governments in their border difficulties. It is through the recorded transactions incident to these border difficulties that we learn how large a proportion of the earliest settlements in the county were made by Germans, and these records, replete in their references to the "unfortunate" Germans, also tell us something about their names, their position and their purposes.

Thus on December 10, 1736, the deposition of Michael Tanner was taken by Magistrate Tobias Hendricks as evidence in the case of Thomas Cressap the instigator and leader of the Maryland intruders. This Tanner was the

same young German who had settled west of the river in the company of Edward Parnell and several other Englishmen and upon the complaint of the Indians had been expelled in 1728. From his deposition we learn that he had persisted in his effort to settle west of the river and on September 17, 1734, had made an authorized settlement of 200 acres six miles southwest of John Hendricks. This time he was not accompanied by English companions for now it was chiefly the Germans who seem to have been attracted across the river. Tanner also declares that in 1734 and 1735 Cressap with pretended authority from Maryland had surveyed upwards of 40 tracts of land for the Germans living in those parts.[27]

[27] Michael Tanner (afterwards Danner) was a native of Mannheim, Germany. On September 27, 1727, when he was thirty-one years of age, he and his wife arrived at the port of Philadelphia. He passed the winter among his countrymen in the western part of Lancaster County. The following spring he crossed the Susquehanna, selected a tract of land near the mouth of Cabin Branch, where Parnell, Summerford and Williams had taken up their abodes. But when he applied to the government for permission to settle there and make improvement, it was refused and in the fall of the year he was required to remove from the west bank. In 1734 he secured a Blunston license and effected a settlement in the Kreutz Creek Valley. Here he soon became involved in the Cressap disturbances. During these difficulties and for some years thereafter Tanner was the spokesman for his countrymen west of the river (for example, Col. Rec., IV: 75). He stoutly resisted the claims of the Marylanders, rejecting their promises and ignoring their threats. In 1736 he was surprised and captured by the Marylanders while he was helping to bury one of his neighbor's children and was carried off and imprisoned for a time at Annapolis. Michael Tanner was a leader of men. When a measure of peace was restored in York County he was one of its most prominent citizens. His name appears frequently in the records of the County, as witness to wills, appraiser of property, executor of estates, and viewer of roads. In 1749 he was one of the commissioners to lay off the County. His signature grows constantly more Anglicized with the years, indicating the influence of his contact with English-speaking officials.

In religious faith he was a Mennonite, as is evinced by the fact that

From similar depositions we learn that Balzer Springler (otherwise Spangler)[28] in the beginning of 1733 under a Pennsylvania grant had settled and improved a tract of land on Codorus Creek twelve miles west of John Hendricks, but that he had been ejected by Cressap to make room for another German, John Keller; that late in 1733

he "solemnly affirmed according to law" instead of taking oath. It was under his leadership that the Mennonites coming from Lancaster County began to settle the rich farming lands in the Conewago Valley near Digges' Choice in 1738. He was afterwards a close friend of the Scotchman Richard McAllister, and it was probably due to Tanner's influence that McAllisterstown received the name of Hanover. His son, Jacob Danner, was the first elder of the German Baptist Church of Codorus, 11 miles southeast of York, organized in 1758, and became involved in the famous religious controversy with Jacob Lischy. Vide Archives, I: 524 f. Division Public Records, Harrisburg, Provincial Papers, Vol. VI: 4, 15, 23. York and Lancaster County Records, passim.

[28] John Balthasar Spangler was the eleventh child of Hans Rudolph Spangler. Born November 29, 1706, at Weiler-Hilsbach in the Palatinate on the Rhine, and married in April, 1732, he migrated to America and arrived at the port of Philadelphia on October 11, 1732. The following spring he made his way westward across the Susquehanna armed with a Blunston license for a tract on the Codorus Creek but he was forcibly prevented by Cessap from executing this grant. He soon succeeded however in gaining permanent possession of another tract of 200 acres. This he purchased from his countryman Tobias Frey and it lay one mile east of the Codorus, just south of the Peachbottom Road (now Plank Road) where it crosses the Mill Creek, in what is now Spring Garden Township. He gradually added to his possessions until in 1763 he owned 483 acres. Part of this land has been incorporated in the city of York. Balthasar Spangler had been preceded to America and to York County by his elder brother Caspar and he was accompanied to the New World by his brothers George and Henry. Balthasar was one of the patriarchs in the early history of the County. When the town of York was laid out in 1741 he was one of the first persons to take up a lot and build a house. When the first County election was held in 1749 Spangler's house was the voting-place. He afterwards kept a public inn there. He was one of the most prominent and influential members of the German Reformed Congregation. He died in 1770 possessed of a large estate and survived by six sons and two daughters. "The Spengler Families With Local Historical Sketches," pp. 138 ff.

Frederick Lather, a German, had taken up his abode near the Codorus Creek, though at the persuasion of Cressap under a Maryland grant; that in 1735 Frederick Ebert, a German, apparently without any grant had settled and improved a tract of land near the Codorus only to be expelled the next year by one of Cressap's agents to make room for another German, Ffelty Shults; that Martin Schultz and his wife Catherine were settled in Hellam Township (now York County) prior to 1736 and suffered violence at the hands of the Marylanders. These facts tend to confirm the impression, reflected by other public instruments, that the first people to settle in any considerable numbers west of the Susquehanna were Germans.

In 1736 the "Chester County Plot" was discovered. This was a conspiracy on the part of the Maryland sympathizers living in Chester County, Pennsylvania, "for ousting by force of arms those German families settled on the west side of the Susquehanna within the unquestionable bounds of this province [*i.e.,* Pennsylvania]." Among the court records at West Chester is a document which contains the names of many of the German settlers west of the river in 1736. It is the record of a "billa vera" against Henry Munday and Charles Higginbotham, instigators of the "Chester County Plot," in which they are charged with having conspired on October 25, 1736, against "the lands and tenements of the honorable proprietaries, county of Lancaster, on west side of Susquehanna within the province of Pennsylvania then in the quiet and peaceful possession of

Christian Crawl	Peter Steinman
Henry Libert	Henry Pann
Jacob Huntsecker	Henry Smith

Methusalem Griffith
Michael Tanner
Henry Stands
Martin Shultz
Jacob Welshover
Paul Springler
Andreas Felixer
Ulrick Whistler
Nicholas Booker
Hans Steinman
Conrad Strickler
Caspar Springler
Michael Walt
Peter Kersher
Reynard Kummer
George Pans Pancker
Frederick Leader
Michael Miller
Martin Weigle
Hans Henry Place
Tobias Fry
Martin Fry
Jacob Landis
Henry Kendrick
Tobias Rudisill
Jacob Krebell
Michael Springle
Jacob Singler
Philip Ziegler
Caspas Krever
Derrick Pleager
George Swope
Michael Krenel
Thomas May
Nicholas Brin
Kilian Smith
Martin Bower
George Lauman
Martin Brunt
Michael Allen
Christian Enfers
and
Nicholas Cone"

These forty-eight names are all the names of Germans, except one, that of Methusalem Griffith.

This list indicates very clearly, therefore, that as soon as the valleys west of the Susquehanna were opened to the settlement of white people there was a rapid influx of Germans and that the population there was from the beginning preponderatingly German. It is practically certain also that most of the fifty-two licenses issued by Blunston from 1733 to 1736 and confirmed by Thomas Penn in October, 1736, were taken by Germans. But it must not

be concluded that all of the Germans in the Kreutz Creek and Codorus Creek Valleys had taken out "Blunston licenses." Most of them undoubtedly had secured these conditional "warrants to agree" before making settlement west of the river. Some however were not impressed with the immediate necessity of securing such license. For the Pennsylvania government was disposed to encourage the migration of its citizens across the Susquehanna and the easiest terms possible were granted. No purchase money whatever was expected until the Indian claim had been satisfied and in many cases the purchase money was not paid for some years even after 1736. Moreover, those who chose to settle west of the river as squatters were no longer sought out and expelled. The securing of a Blunston license, therefore, seemed a mere empty formality which might easily be postponed to some more convenient time, and after the migration had once begun many of the people in Lancaster County saw no impropriety in removing and settling west of the Susquehanna River without even consulting the authorities. And so, while most of the settlers in the Kreutz Creek settlement had taken the precaution to secure a formal license for their land, a considerable number had settled there without having secured any license whatever but intending to take out license under Pennsylvania as soon as they should be called upon to do so.

It is worthy of mention in this connection also that there were quite a number who secured Blunston licenses to settle west of the river, but who never availed themselves of their permission and never actually took up their abodes beyond the Susquehanna. For Blunston remarks in his letter to Thomas Penn, March 18, 1735, "I had not

timely notice of this opportunity or I should have sent a list of the persons licensed to settle over Susquehanah which amount to about 130."[29] Many of these did not use their licenses, at least for some years, either because they could not find such tracts as they deemed desirable or else because the growing hostilities of the Marylanders deterred them. Hence Thomas Penn found it necessary to confirm licenses to only fifty-two persons and about 12,000 acres was sufficient to satisfy all their claims.

The above list of persons against whom Munday and Higginbotham aimed their plot, cannot, therefore, be regarded as an exhaustive list of the Germans living in that region. It can be supplemented from another source. For many of the settlers west of the river, both such as had secured Blunston licenses and such as had not, were for a time induced by the dire threats and the alluring promises of the Maryland agents to accept Maryland warrants and surveys and to acknowledge Maryland authority. They soon found however that they had been deceived, that the Maryland authorities discriminated against them because they were Germans, and that their possessions were uncertain under the Maryland proprietary. So they made haste to repudiate their allegiance to Maryland and to acknowledge again the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania in those parts. This action the government of Maryland regarded as "the revolt of the Germans" and it led to serious disturbances in their neighborhood including an invasion of a body of 300 armed men from Maryland and the Chester County plot to force the Germans out of their possessions. Their lands were surveyed to other persons. Their property was stolen, demolished, or burned. Their doors were broken down with axes in the

[29] Appendix *A*.

dead of winter. Their growing crops were destroyed. Their sons and fathers were captured and imprisoned. They were subjected to all sorts of indignities and in some cases were glad to escape with their lives to the east side of the river.

Under date of August 13, 1736, a petition of the Germans was delivered to the provincial council at Philadelphia asking that their error in accepting warrants from the government of Maryland be imputed to want of better information, and praying to be received again under the protection of the government of Pennsylvania. The council unanimously declared in favor of receiving the Germans again and of encouraging them in their fidelity. The correspondence concerning this return of the Germans to their allegiance to Pennsylvania helps us to further fix the names and total number of German settlers within the bounds of York County up to the end of 1736. For on August 11, 1736, just two days before the Germans petitioned the council at Philadelphia for reinstatement as citizens of Pennsylvania, they wrote a somewhat similar letter to the governor of Maryland apprising him of their intention to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. This letter was suggested by Samuel Blunston but was not drawn up or signed in his presence. Afterwards in reporting in person to the council in Philadelphia Blunston said that he had learned since coming to Philadelphia that the letter "was signed by about sixty hands."[30] The lieutenant governor of Maryland in writing about this letter shortly thereafter said it was "subscribed with the names of fifty or sixty persons." This document was published in the Maryland Archives.[31] Only 22 of these

[30] Col. Rec., IV: 57.

[31] Md. Archives, Vol. 28: 100 f. Vide also Col. Rec. Pa., IV: 61 f.

names of signers are preserved in the Archives.[32] But in the unpublished Calvert Papers[33] we have a copy of the original document and this includes also a copy of the signatures. The signatures in this copy number fifty-six and they are identical with the names of fifty-six persons whose arrest was ordered by the Maryland authorities by proclamation on October 21, 1736, "for contriving signing and publishing a seditious paper and writing against his Lordship and this government."[34] These fifty-six names therefore undoubtedly constitute the full list of the signers of the letter of August 11, 1736. This list includes nearly all of the names mentioned in the document pertaining to the Chester County Plot (which took place in the Fall of that same year) and in addition includes such German names as

George Scobell
Hance Stanner
Tobias Bright
Tobias Henricks
Leonard Immel
Balchar Sangar
Peter Gartner
Michael Reisher
Godfrey Fry
Henry Young
Eurick Myer
Caspar Varglass
Nicholas Peery
and
Martin Sluys.

A few more names and locations of German settlers may be gathered from the depositions concerning the arrest of John Lochman, a German living west of the river. From the account of Lochman himself and from that of John Powell, undersheriff of Lancaster County, it appears

[32] The original document went to England when the whole matter of the boundary dispute was to be reviewed in London, and there it was lost.

[33] No. 717. For the list of signatures vide Appendix *B*.

[34] The proclamation also includes in a separate list the names of four Lancaster County officials. These are English.

that on December 24, 1735, Robert Buchanan, sheriff of Lancaster County, and three others had arrested Lochman on a writ of debt at his house about seven miles west of John Hendricks's plantation and two miles south of the Little Codorus, within 100 yards of the main road through the valley, and had taken him eastward past the home of his countryman Peter Gartner, "a Dutch Smith," when, about four miles west of Hendricks's, they were suddenly set upon by a number of Lochman's countrymen living in those parts. Lochman was rescued and the Lancaster County officers were sorely abused. Lochman asserts that there were "5 Dutchmen" in the attacking party and gives their names: Barnett Wyemour, Michl Risenar, Feltie Craw, Francis Clapsaddle, and Leonard Freerour. Powell asserts that there were about twenty or thirty in the crowd but names only six: Bernard Weyman, Michael Rysner, Christian Croll, Francis Clapsaddle, Nicholas Kuhns, and Martin Schultz. He says that these six together with Mark Evans "all live on the West side of Susquehannah River, not above one Mile to the Southward of the house of John Kendricks." This incident therefore gives us the location of Croll, Reisher, Cone and Schultz, and adds the names of Weimer, Clapsaddle, Feerour, Lochman, and Craw (or Kroh)[35] to the above lists of names.[36]

The Maryland authorities estimated the number of

[35] Croll's name was often spelled Crawl, especially by the Marylanders. But that this is not the same person as the Feltie Craw is evident not only from the difference in surnames but also from the Minutes of the Lancaster County Court for September 24, 1736, where it appears that both Ffelty Crow and Christian Croll were tried for disturbing the peace of Lancaster County and assaulting Sheriff Buchanan.

[36] Proceedings of the Council of Maryland for 1735, p. 83. Col. Rec., Pa. III: 612 f.

Germans in that region at fifty or sixty families. For in a communication of Friday, February 18, 1737 (*i. e.*, the spring following the "revolt of the Germans"), from the Governor and Council of Maryland to the King they say ". . . accordingly not less than 50 or 60 families of that nation immediately took possession of those lands and paid their proportion of the taxes and demeaned themselves in every other respect as peaceable subjects of your Majesty and unquestionable inhabitants and tenants of this Province until very lately."[37]

Now the petition of August 13, 1736, in which the Germans pray the Council of Pennsylvania for reinstatement as subjects of that province, was signed by forty-eight Germans and was entitled "The Petition of Most of the Inhabitants on the West Side of the Susquehanah River opposite to Hempfield in the County of Lancaster." The list of subscribers to this petition[38] must have been very much the same as the list of signers to the letter of two days previous, and as this number forty-eight embraces "most of the inhabitants west of the River" this document serves to corroborate the conclusion drawn from the Maryland letter and we have a fairly accurate idea of the number and the names of the Germans in this part of our county at the close of 1736.[39]

[37] Proceedings of the Council of Maryland for 1737.

[38] The list of signers was not preserved. The petition itself and the statement concerning the number of signers is given in the Colonial Records, IV: 64 f., and in Pennsylvania Archives, Second Series, Vol. VII: 202.

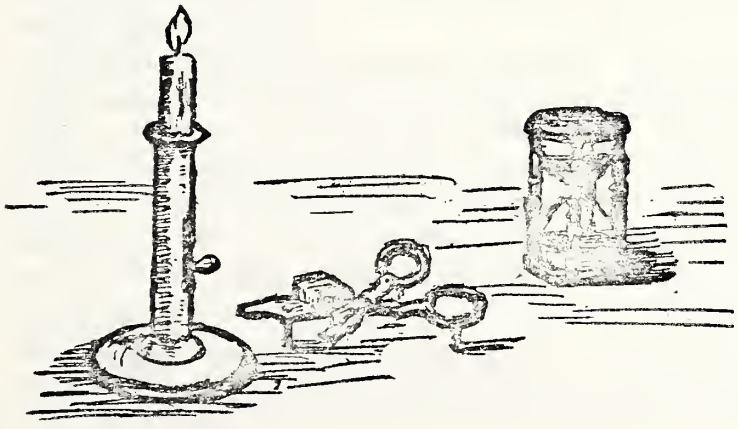
[39] The difficulties grew worse during the winter of 1736–1737. This was the height of "Cressap's War." The "revolt of the Germans" was made the pretext for many cruelties that were perpetrated upon them. Some of the Germans who had assisted in rescuing John Lochman from the Lancaster County officials had been taken and lodged in the Lancaster County jail. John Hendricks was also imprisoned there for a time because he had harbored the Marylanders on his plantation which they used as a base of

The improvements of these Germans lay in the fertile limestone valley of the Kreutz Creek stretching southwestward from John Hendricks's plantation, where Wrightsville now stands, to the place where the Kreutz Creek Valley merges into the Codorus Creek Valley, where the city of York now stands. This is the exact region that was included in the Springettsbury Manor when it was resurveyed in 1768 under Governor Hamilton's warrant

operations against the Kreutz Creek Settlement. On the other hand, four Germans (Michael Tanner, Conrad Strickler, Henry Bacon, and Jacob Welshover) as they were in the act of burying a child, had been seized by the Marylanders and carried off to Annapolis. After a strenuous resistance, Cressap had been captured and was imprisoned in Philadelphia. But Higginbotham had succeeded to the leadership among the Marylanders at Cabin Branch, whom Samuel Blunston called "that nest of Vilains at Conejohala." Several lives had been lost in the conflicts. The Germans were being subjected to great inconveniences and serious dangers. Eighteen of their number had been seized and lodged in the Maryland jail (Maryland Archives for 1737, May 23). The others became terrified when their leaders had been captured and near the end of December, 1736, very many of them deserted their habitations and sought safety east of the river. Early in January, 1737, Blunston wrote in a letter to the Council at Philadelphia: "They have left their homes and are come over the River so that there are none left on that side but women and children. . . . Before this happened if the sheriff had gone over he might have had 30 or 40 Dutch to assist him, but now he has none but what he takes with him if he can go over." Archives, I: 317 (for the date of the letter vide Col. Rec., IV: 149). This evidently refers to the number of those who lived nearest to the river and who could have been counted on to assist against the Marylanders. Measures were taken to protect them and in a few days they all returned again to their homes and families. On May 23, 1737, Joseph Perry and Charles Higginbotham reported to the Maryland Council that they have "apprehended several Dutchmen and others set forth in proclamation as disturbers of the peace." The twenty-two names which they recite as partial list of those captured include the names of Tanner, Strickler, Bacon, Welshover, Liphart, and others prominent in the history of the Kreutz Creek Settlement (vide Md. Archives for 1737). But by this time the negotiations between the two provinces had advanced so far in the direction of peace that the captives were not long detained in Annapolis.

of 1762. It has been asserted that the original survey of the Springettsbury Manor was purposely suppressed at the time of the resurvey because the provincial authorities wanted to exchange bad land for good.[40] However that may be, it is certain that the resurvey, differing widely from the original, was made to embrace part of the most fertile area in the county. It comprehended a tract six miles wide extending from Wright's Ferry along the entire length of the Kreutz Creek Valley to the plantation of Christian Eyster one and a quarter miles west of the town of York. The resurvey thus included nearly all of the plantations of the Germans, if not all, and it thus bears eloquent witness to the superior skill of the Germans in the selection of good soil for their locations.

[40] Dallas Reports, IV: 379. "It is further argued, that the recital of the loss of the survey of 1722, is a mere pretence, a fraud, to enable the proprietaries to exchange bad land for good."





CHAPTER IV.

Other Early Settlements.

ANOTHER German settlement, among the earliest of all settlements within the present limits of the county, was that made where the city of Hanover is now situated. In the time of its beginnings it followed very closely upon the commencement of the Kreutz Creek Settlement, but in its earlier years it did not grow nearly so rapidly as its sister settlement in the eastern part of the county. The history of this settlement furnishes striking instances of the hardships which the German pioneers in our county were obliged to undergo.

This second German settlement was made under a Maryland grant and was therefore the occasion of no little strife between the agents of Maryland and those of Pennsylvania. The original settlement was known as "Digges' Choice," from the owner of the tract upon which the settlement grew up.[1] John Digges was a petty Irish nobleman of Prince George County, Maryland. On October 14, 1727, he obtained from Lord Baltimore a warrant

[1] In Maryland a custom obtained of naming the tracts for which warrants were granted. For a few instances of this vide supra, p. 40 f. These names usually expressed either some quality or circumstance of the tract or some fancy of the warrantee or some aspect of public opinion concerning the venture.

for 10,000 acres of land. The warrant empowered him to locate the grant "on whatsoever unimproved lands he pleased within the jurisdiction of his lordship." No survey was made for four and a half years but the warrant was kept in force by repeated renewals. Meanwhile under the direction of the noted Indian chief, Tom, Digges had selected for his grant a promising tract of land embracing the whole of Penn Township, in which Hanover is now situated, and most of Heidelberg Township but extending also into what is now Adams County and including parts of Conewago, Germany and Union Townships. The survey was made in April, 1732, and embraced 6,822 acres, although the patent was not issued until October 11, 1735. The full title of the tract in the return of the survey was "Digges Choice in the Back Woods." Unfortunately for those who afterwards settled in those parts, this tract had 270 courses and these were not marked except on paper, only the beginning boundaries being marked on the tract itself.[2]

Digges's Choice soon began to be settled, and that too by

[2] Only about 120 of these courses were indicated on the return of the survey made by the surveyor, Edward Stevenson. About 150 of the courses run on the land were left out of the draft in order to produce a more regular figure. It was this action on the part of the surveyor that led to much of the confusion among the settlers afterwards. This confusion would have been impossible under the Pennsylvania system of making surveys. For under that system trees were marked on the ground and where there were no natural boundaries artificial marks were set up to distinguish the survey. Stevenson's field notes of the original Digges's survey contained 270 courses and embraced the full grant of 10,000 acres. But the return of the survey did not follow these field notes and there was nothing on the tract itself to indicate the courses. These facts were brought out in the judicial determination of the matter in the case of Thomas Lilly's lessee *vs.* George Kitzmiller, tried before Justices Shippen and Yeates at York in May, 1791. Vide Yeates, "Reports of Cases in the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania," I: 28–33.

Germans. Of the many squatters who had begun to cross the Susquehanna about 1730 and locate here and there on the lands of the peaceful Indians, some were attracted to the Digges estate. The Pennsylvania authorities could grant no kind of license before 1733 and then only provisional licenses, whereas on the Digges lands, held under a Maryland grant, full and permanent licenses could be obtained at once. For the charter of the Maryland proprietor, as we have seen, permitted him to authorize settlements in western Maryland irrespective of the Pennsylvania purchase of the Indian title. This fact undoubtedly operated as a special inducement to attract settlers to Digges's Choice. Then, too, Digges took active measures to sell his lands and to start a settlement on his tract. Both in person and through his agents he crossed to the east side of the Susquehanna River where he advertised his acres among the citizens of Pennsylvania and sought to make sales of plantations under his Maryland patent west of the river. This he did even before the survey of his "Choice" was made, and this entire agitation among Pennsylvanians was deeply resented by the Pennsylvania authorities. Thus a letter from John Wright to James Logan, April 10, 1731,[3] tells that the writer had "learned that Thomas Digges had come over the River and gone amongst the Duch to sell lands,"[4] that Digges had taken up 20,000 acres of which "8000 lye between Conewago and Codorus Creeks," and that Wright had "openly resisted" Digges in his effort to induce Pennsylvanians to remove to Mary-

[3] Among the "Official Penn Manuscripts" in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

[4] Wright was in error as to the surname, and indeed, the entire letter shows that Wright's information on the subject was inaccurate, though there can be no doubt about the main fact of Digges's propaganda west of the river before April 10, 1731.

land. Nevertheless Digges's efforts west of the river were not without avail.

The earliest purchase of lands on Digges's Choice and within the present limits of York County[5]—the earliest of which we have any record—was made by Adam Forney on October 5, 1731. As Digges could not at that time give absolute title to the land, no survey having been made and no patent having been issued, he gave Forney his bond for 60 pounds to deliver the title at some future time.[6] Forney's purchase was for 150 acres. It covered what is today the heart of the city of Hanover. This was near the "Conewago Settlement" which was also on Digges's Choice, but in what is now Adams County, and which had

[5] Other purchases had been made from Digges's tract about a year before this, but they fall within the present County of Adams and they were not made by Germans.

[6] This bond is typical of a number that Digges issued to the earliest Germans who bought lands and made settlement upon this tract: "Know all men by these presents, that I, John Digges, of Prince George's County, in the Province of Maryland, Gent, am held and firmly bound unto Adam Faurney, of Philadelphia County, in the Province of Pennsylvania, Farmer and Taylor, in the full and just sum of Sixty pounds current money of Maryland, to which payment well and truly to be made and done, I bind myself, my Heirs, Executors and Administrators, firmly by these presents. Sealed with my seal and dated this fifth day of October, Anno Domini, 1731.

"The Condition of the above obligation is such that if the above bound John Digges, his Heirs, Executors or Administrators, shall and will at the reasonable request of the above Adam Faurney, make & order by sufficient conveyance according to the custom and common usage of the Province of Maryland, a certain parcell of land containing one hundred and fifty acres already marked out by the above named Adam Faurney, near a place known by the name of Robert Owing's Spring, and on the same tract of land where the said Robert Owing now Dwells in the Province of Maryland, then this obligation to be void, otherwise to remain in full force and virtue of Law.

"Sealed and delivered in the Presence of us, "JOHN DIGGES."
GEORGE DOUGLASS,
JOHANN PETER ZARICH."

been begun in 1730 by Robert Owings and other Catholics from Maryland.[7]

Adam Forney came to York County from Philadelphia County. He was originally a tailor in Wachenheim-in-the-Haardt in the Palatinate, whither his ancestors had probably come as Hugenot refugees from religious persecution in France. With his wife, Elizabeth Lowisa, and four children he arrived at the port of Philadelphia on October 16, 1721.[8] For a decade he remained in Philadelphia County. By the city magistrates in Germany he was styled "citizen and tailor."[9] In Digges's bond he is

[7] Vide John T. Reily's "Conewago: a Collection of Local Catholic History," pp. 39 ff.

[8] The ancestral family Bible of the Forneys at Hanover records this fact. Forney's name in Germany was Johann Adam Faurney, but, like a great many other Germans with Johann or Hans as an initial surname, Forney dropped the Johann shortly after coming to this country.

[9] The certificate of dismissal which he received upon his departure from Wachenheim is still in the possession of his descendants in Hanover. It furnishes evidence of his favorable standing among his fellow-citizens in Germany. The English translation published in "The Forney Family, 1690–1893" (pages 2 and 3) is as follows:

"We, magistrates, burgomasters and council of the city of Wachenheim-in-the-Haardt, certify herewith that before us came the worthy Johann Adam Forney, citizen and tailor here, the legitimate son of the worthy Christian Forney, also a citizen here, and informed us that he, with his wedded wife, Elisabetha Lowisa, have firmly resolved to set out with their four children and effects, on the journey to the island of Pennsylvania and to settle there; but he stands in need of an attested certificate of how he behaved with us and why he departed, such as he can show at the place of his settlement. Which we gave him according to his reasonable desire and truthfully; moreover because we believe it would really be required in order that no one may calumniate our citizen or citizen's children; although we have indeed sought dilgently and earnestly to dissuade him from such departure, yet he remains of his first intention; therefore after steadfast perseverance we have given the said Johann Adam Forney this certificate: That as long as we have known him he has behaved himself honorably, piously and honestly, as well becomes a citizen and artisan, and moreover,

described as "farmer and tailor." In York County he became farmer and inn-keeper.[10] Forney made his purchase in 1731 but whether he settled at once upon the tract he bought cannot be ascertained as there is no record of his settlement. But when in 1734 Andrew Schreiber settled on the Conewago his nearest neighbors, he tells us, were the family of Adam Forney, four miles distant.[11] And as Forney marked off his purchase in person in the fall of 1731,[12] it is highly probable that he settled there immediately or very shortly after that. The new settlement may be said therefore to have actually begun a little more than three years after John Hendricks took up his abode on the west bank of the Susquehanna and almost simultaneously with the first influx of German immigrants into the Kreutz Creek Valley.

Another prominent individual among the first settlers in this new settlement was Andrew Schreiber, lineal ancestor of Admiral Winfield Scott Schley. Andrew Schreiber was born at Alstenborn in the Palatinate in 1712. His parents, Andrew and Ann Margaretha, together with their chil-

showed himself so neighborly that no one has had any complaint to make of him; he also is bound to no compulsory service or serfdom; he will not be unwilling to give, to show with all readiness to those of his intended residence all affection and kindness. To this true certificate we, the authorities, have affixed our city council's great seal to this statement which is given at Wachenheim-in-the-Haardt, the 7th of May, 1721."

[10] The Moravians, Leonard Schnell and Robert Hussey in the diary of their missionary journey from Bethlehem, Pa., to their brethren in Georgia, November 6, 1743 to April 10, 1744, remark that after leaving York on November 15, "Towards evening we came to the district which is called after the river "Canawage." We lodged in an inn. The name of the inn-keeper is Adam Forny. He complained much about ministers and their useless efforts." Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, Vol. XI, 1903–4, p. 371.

[11] Vide "The Shriver Family, 1684–1888," Samuel S. Shriver, p. 14.

[12] According to the text of Digges's bond quoted above, footnote 6.

dren, after "having borne many adversities,"[13] emigrated to America arriving in Philadelphia late in the year 1721. The family first settled at Goshenhoppen, near the Trappe, on the Schuylkill River. Here Andrew the younger married Ann Maria Keiser in the spring of 1733 and in June of that year removed to York County.[14] From John Digges he bought a tract of 100 acres near what is now Christ Church and paid for it with one hundred pairs of negro shoes, the price agreed upon. This location was four miles west of the plantation of Adam Forney. Here Schreiber lived on peaceful terms with the neighboring Indians and subsequently made additional purchases of land from Digges. He hunted deer and tilled the soil by day and tanned deerskins in the evenings. He became the progenitor of the numerous family of Shrivers who live in that community at present.

When Andrew Schreiber set out from Goshenhoppen for the region west of the Susquehanna in the summer of 1733 he was accompanied by his stepbrother David Jung (Young) who remained with him about three weeks, until they had cleared a few acres and planted corn on it, and then returned home. But shortly thereafter, probably the next year, Young also bought a tract from John Digges and took up his abode not far from his stepbrother Schreiber.[15] Other neighbors from Philadelphia County soon

[13] These words occur in the certificate of dismissal which Andrew Schreiber received from John Mueller, the Reformed pastor of Alstenborn. This certificate is still in the hands of the Shrivers and is reproduced in "The Shriver Family," p. 10.

[14] A statement of the late Hon. Abraham Schriver, resident judge of the Frederick County court, is authority for the information concerning the original homestead on the Schuylkill and Andrew's marriage and removal to York County. Communicated to the "Star and Sentinel" for March 1876 by John A. Renshaw.

[15] The fact may be gathered from the deposition of Robert Owings on

followed these two pioneers, among them Ludwig Schreiber, brother of Andrew, Peter Mittelkauff, and Michael Will.

Among the other early settlers in this new community whose names have been preserved were many whose descendants are still to be found in the thriving town of Hanover and its prosperous vicinity. As early as 1731 Nicholas Forney and Peter Zarich were there. In 1732 or 1733 we find that John Lemmon, Adam Miller, and Adam Messier have had surveys made to them on Digges's tract. In 1734 Conrad Eyler and his son Valentine had settled there, receiving their warrants in 1738. In 1735 Henry Sell and the following year Martin Kitzmiller had joined the settlement. Before 1737 Peter Jungblut (Youngblood), Matthias Marker, Jacob Banker, William Oler, Peter Oler, and Peter Welby had taken out grants. In 1737 at least two more additions were made, Derrick Jungblut and Peter Reisher (Rysher). In 1738 George Evanaar received his warrant and by 1741 we meet with such names as those of Herman Updegraf, the shoemaker, Peter Schultz the blacksmith, Matthias Ulrich, and Peter Ensminger, and a few years later with Martin Brin, Abraham Sell, Martin Ungefare, and John Martin Inyfoss.[16]

July 18, 1746, and the approximate date of Young's settlement is also implied there. Archives, I: 695.

[16] These names and dates are gathered by inference from the Pennsylvania Archives and the Pennsylvania Colonial Records embodying the negotiations of the proprietaries concerning the boundaries of their respective provinces. The records of these negotiations are to be found chiefly in the Archives, I: 680–715 and Colonial Records, V: 582–597. The names that occur there cannot be regarded as at all exhaustive of the list of inhabitants in the entire settlement. They are chiefly such as happened to be located on that portion of the entire tract which was in dispute between the two provinces.

In the course of the correspondence between the two provinces in 1752,

But the lives of these enterprising and industrious Germans were no more peaceful than those of their countrymen who had settled about the same time or a few years earlier in the eastern part of the county. This was through no fault of their own. Their purposes were altogether peaceful and their motives beyond reproach. They had not even been made the victims of a scheme to preempt the soil for a particular province, as was the case with most of the early settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley. They had ventured out upon those newlands in quest of quiet homes where they might worship without hindrance and might work undisturbed, sowing their crops and reaping the fruits of their own labors. But they had the misfortune to settle upon border land at a time when boundaries were indefinite and open to dispute. The consequence was, their days were fraught with distraction and their lives were in many cases made miserable for years. The blame for this condition of affairs must rest entirely with the authorities. The irregular and indefinite boundaries of Digges's reservation caused much uncertainty as to

President Tasker of Maryland transmitted to Governor Hamilton of Pennsylvania a copy of a warrant to collect taxes of persons settled on Digges's Choice under Maryland rights (Col. Rec., V: 592; Archives, II: 90 f.). Governor Hamilton recognized the jurisdiction of Maryland over the property of the persons mentioned in that warrant and gave strict orders to the officers in York County not to try to collect from them (Archives, II: 89 f.). The warrant had been issued in January, 1750, and gives the names of 40 persons who were settled at that time north of the temporary line between the provinces but under Maryland jurisdiction. In addition to the names already mentioned we have in this list such German names as

Martin Bayers	George Shrier	Peter Gerson
Christian Stoner	Philip Kinsfoor	Henry Null, Dr.
Casper Berkhamer	Jacob Perts	Michael Behlar
Philip Sower	Andrew Hanier	Henry Knouf
John Counts	Conrad Eakron	John Shreder
Frederick Sheets	George Frusch	George Coffman

the validity of their titles and led to frequent disputes between Digges and the settlers on his lands. The conflicting claims of the Penns and Lord Baltimore to the proprietorship in that region only served to aggravate the difficulties and involved the inhabitants in greater turmoil. The land upon which many of the Germans had settled came to be known as "the disputed land." Unlawful claims were made and violent measures were resorted to in enforcing them. Jurisdiction in criminal cases was difficult to determine, the administration of justice was impeded or prevented, and lawlessness naturally flourished. For this reason the community was sometimes referred to as "Rogues' Resort," but this cannot be taken as a reflection upon the character of the earliest settlers and the permanent residents in that district, for it was due to conditions brought about entirely by the neglect of the distant authorities in Philadelphia, in Baltimore, and in London. A brief narrative of some of the disturbances in this region will help us to understand something of the adverse conditions under which this settlement took its beginnings.

Some of these Germans who were settled on and about the Conewago Creek on the lands claimed by John Digges soon began to suspect that his patent did not cover all that he claimed, that he was not in a position to give valid titles, and that some day the proprietary government of Pennsylvania might compel them to pay a second time for the lands which they occupied. Digges's boundaries were not marked and the increase of settlers and the expanding of the colony called for a clear definition of rights. The Germans therefore repeatedly called on Digges to mark the boundaries of his claim. This he refused to do, and as he gave conflicting accounts of the extent of his patent, they began to grow solicitous about the validity of their deeds.

Their suspicions were turned to certainty when in 1743 they sent one of their number, Martin Ungefare, to Annapolis and secured an attested copy of the courses of Digges's tract. Despite Digges's protests and threats of violence the Germans proceeded to have the courses of his tract run by an authorized surveyor, and then it was plain that he had claimed a great deal more land than he had a right to by his patent and that he had sold a number of tracts that lay without his survey of 6,822 acres.

Digges was greatly disturbed by this revelation and began at once to cast about for some means of securing title to such lands as he needed to fulfill his contracts with the people. To secure an additional patent under a new survey from Maryland was now impossible. For a royal order of 1738[17] had fixed a temporary line (called the

[17] This was an order issued by the King on May 25, 1738, ratifying an agreement between Lord Baltimore and the Penns. In this Order the following paragraphs are of interest in this connection:

3rd, "That all other lands in contest between the said proprietors now possessed by or under either of them shall remain in the possession as they now are (although beyond the temporary limits hereafter mentioned); and also the jurisdiction of the respective proprietors shall be finally settled; and that the tenants of either side shall not attorn to the other, nor shall either of the proprietors or their officers receive or accept of attornments form the tenants of the other proprietors.

"4th, That, as to all vacant lands in contest between the proprietors, not lying within the three lower counties and not now possessed by or under either of them, on the east side of the River Sasquehannah down so far south as fourteen miles and three quarters of a mile south of the latitude of the most southern part of the city of Philadelphia, the temporary jurisdiction over the same is agreed to be exercised by the proprietors of Pennsylvania, and their governor, courts, and officers; and as to all such vacant lands in contest between the proprietors and not now possessed by or under either of them on both sides of the said River Sasquehannah south of the southern limits in this paragraph before mentioned, the temporary jurisdiction over the same is agreed to be exercised by the proprietor of Maryland and his governor, courts, and officers, without prejudice to either proprietor and until the bounds shall be finally settled." Archives, I: 713 f.

Temporary Line of 1739) between the two provinces west of the Susquehanna at fourteen and three fourths miles south of Philadelphia but provided that lands already possessed in the disputed territory should remain in the possession and jurisdiction in which they then were. Now Digges's Choice lay four miles north of the temporary line, and while under the provisions of the royal order it remained in Digges's possession and continued under Maryland jurisdiction, nevertheless after 1739 the province of Maryland could claim no kind of authority over any of the lands surrounding Digges's Choice north of the temporary line between the provinces. Accordingly in November, 1743, after the Germans had deliberately surveyed the boundaries of his claim and thus had laid bare his false pretensions, Digges applied to the land office of Pennsylvania for permission to take up enough land to make his tract a regular square. He was told that he might have a warrant for as much as he pleased, provided he would meet the common terms of Pennsylvania and would not interfere with the rights of some Germans who had regular warrants for some of the lands contiguous to his tract. These conditions he refused to meet and he left Philadelphia without coming to any agreement with the secretary.

Digges then resorted to a new measure. He turned to Maryland and determined to get a Maryland warrant to complete his original grant of 10,000 acres. In July, 1745, a warrant was issued from the office at Annapolis requiring the surveyor to correct the errors of the original survey and to add any vacant land he could find contiguous to the tract originally patented. This survey was made two weeks later and embraced an additional 3,679 acres. For this Digges paid a new consideration and a new rent.

The patent therefore was in direct violation of the royal order of 1738 and of the rights of Pennsylvania in that region. Digges claimed that he had merely made a resurvey marking the true courses of the 10,000 acres that had been granted to him originally. Nevertheless, his new patent embraced several German plantations that had not been embraced in the original survey and included a number of tracts for which warrants had been granted to German settlers by the proprietaries of Pennsylvania.[18] All of these lands Digges offered for sale and thus we have the fruitful cause of years of conflict and turmoil in this neighborhood.

There were at least fourteen Germans who had settled under Pennsylvania warrants outside of Digges's original

[18] An instance of such a grant is to be found in the following document now in the possession of the York County Historical Society. It is a land warrant granted to George Evanaar, a German, and signed by Thomas Penn, on October 5, 1738, a year before the temporary line was run between Pennsylvania and Maryland.

"Whereas George Evanaar, of the County of Lancaster, hath requested that we would grant him to take up one hundred acres of land situated at Conewago, adjoining Adam Forney and Nicholas Forney, in the said County of Lancaster, for which he agrees to pay to our use the sum of fifteen pounds, ten shillings current money of this province for the said one hundred acres, and the yearly quit-rent of one half penny sterling for every acre thereof. This is therefore to authorize and require you to survey or cause to be surveyed to the said George Evanaar at the place aforesaid, according to the methods of townships appointed, the said quantity of one hundred acres, if not already surveyed or appropriated, and make return thereof into the secretary's office, in order for further confirmation; for which this shall be your sufficient warrant; which survey in case the said George Evanaar fulfill the above agreement within six months from the date hereof shall be valid otherwise void. Given under my hand and seal of the land office, by virtue of certain powers from the said proprietaries, at Philadelphia, this fifth day of October, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight.

"To Benjamin Eastburn, Surveyor-General. THOMAS PENN."

survey of 1732 but within his resurvey of 1745. In April, 1746, these Germans sent a delegation to Philadelphia with a petition to the Pennsylvania authorities asking for protection in their rights as against Digges's aggressions.[19] Thomas Cookson, surveyor of Lancaster County, was sent to the Conewago to warn Digges and the people against violations of the royal order.[20] But to no avail. Digges insisted that his resurvey and new warrant were merely confirmatory of the originals and therefore no violations of the royal order. The governors of the two provinces began a correspondence about the matter but without definite results for many years. Meanwhile the settlers in the disputed land were kept in constant uneasiness, a number of arrests were made and violent conflicts took place, thus greatly retarding the growth of the settlement.

Very shortly after Cookson's visit to Digges's Choice in April, 1746, Thomas Norris, deputy sheriff of Baltimore County, at the suit of John Digges arrested Matthias Ulrich and Nicholas Forney (son of Adam Forney), two of the German settlers on the disputed land. This was done because these men failed to give Digges their bonds for the lands which they held. The sheriff took his prisoners as far as Adam Forney's house. Here Adam Forney remonstrated with the sheriff, insisting that the prisoners were settled under proper Pennsylvania warrants and offering to go bail for them. This was refused, whereupon Forney boldly told the two men to return to their homes. The sheriff drew his sword and Forney's party drew theirs, but without coming to blows the sheriff and his assistants, Dudley Digges and John Roberts, mounted their horses and fled towards Maryland. Then Forney wrote an ac-

[19] Archives, II: 28.

[20] Archives, I: 681–683.

count of the affair to Cookson, pleading for his intervention and assistance and concluding: "For if this matter is not rectified, & we do not get help speedily, we must help ourselves, & should it be with our last Drop of Blood, for I am well assured that we will not be put upon by no Digges that ever lived under the sun. . . . Digges also troubled many more, in short all them that lives in his resurvey'd Additional Line, & was a going to have them arrested, but some sent them a packing in the Striving. . . ."[21]

The troubles grew worse and Digges discovered that the Germans were as stubborn in maintaining their rights as he was determined to force them into submission. On January 26, 1747, John Wilmot, an under-sheriff of Maryland, and six others, all armed with heavy clubs, arrested Adam Forney at his home and carried him off to the Baltimore jail on the charge of resisting the officers of the law. Forney was subjected to very rough treatment and in the struggle that attended the arrest his wife, Louise, and his daughter, Eve, were badly beaten with clubs. In Baltimore Forney entered bail for his appearance at court. The provincial authorities of Pennsylvania at once took measures to defend Forney on the ground that the arrest was made within the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania. A Maryland lawyer was retained to defend Forney at the trial. But a little investigation revealed the fact that the house where Forney had been arrested was actually within the limits of Digges's original tract. The case thus ceased to interest the Pennsylvania authorities and Forney was left to his own defense. How the case was settled is nowhere recorded but there was probably nothing more than the imposition of a fine, for we soon find Forney at his home again.[22]

[21] Archives, I: 685 f. and 694 f.

[22] Archives, I: 724–733.

During the week following Forney's arrest a formal complaint was drawn up by the German settlers on the "Disputed Land" and sent to Thomas Cookson, setting forth the facts of Forney's arrest and brutal treatment and asking Cookson to intercede with the governor "that sum Releef may be spedely, for it is vary hard for us to live af ter this manner, to be toren to pesis." This was signed by Martin Kitzmiller, Martin Brin, Abraham Sellen (Sell), Hanry Sellen, "and numerous others."[23]

In 1749 a petition was presented to Governor Hamilton signed by Hendrick Seller (Henry Sell) and thirteen others, stating that they were all settled on the tract included by Digges in his resurvey of 1745, that they all held Pennsylvania warrants for their land, that Digges was threatening to sue them unless they would pay him 100 pounds Maryland currency, and that they were in constant danger of being forced from their plantations, carried to Maryland and there confined. The petitioners asked that some speedy means be devised for their relief.[24]

This unsettled condition of affairs continued until in 1752 it led to the tragic shooting of Dudley Digges, son of John Digges. Martin Kitzmiller, with his wife and three sons, Jacob, Leonard, and John, was settled on a tract of 100 acres continguous to Digges's Choice. Kitzmiller had bought the improvements on this tract from John Lemmon in 1736. Lemmon had recognized the right of Digges to the land but had not yet paid Digges for the land when he sold the improvement to Kitzmiller. When Kitzmiller came into the possession of the improvements he refused to acknowledge Digges's right to the land and secured a warrant from Pennsylvania for the 100

[23] Archives, I: 724 f.

[24] Archives, II: 28.

acres. This plantation, including a mill and a blacksmith shop, lay entirely outside the limits of Digges's original survey but within the bounds of his resurvey. Accordingly Digges sought to force payment from Kitzmiller. This Kitzmiller resisted. On February 26, 1752, the sheriff of Baltimore County accompanied by several other persons, among them Henry and Dudley Digges, went to Kitzmiller's mill and placed Martin under arrest. Kitzmiller resisted arrest, his sons came to his rescue, and in the struggle a gun in the hands of Jacob Kitzmiller was discharged, killing Dugley Digges. The Marylanders then left the premises and Jacob Kitzmiller went to York and delivered himself into custody. John Digges represented that his son had been murdered and appealed to the Maryland authorities for justice. The president of the Maryland council at once laid claim to jurisdiction in the case and demanded that Kitzmiller be delivered to Maryland for trial. But the council of Pennsylvania established the fact that at the time of the royal order of 1738 Digges was not in possession of the land where the tragedy had taken place and that any possession that he may have acquired under Maryland authority subsequent to 1738 was in violation of the royal order. The case therefore was ordered to be tried at York on October 30, 1752, and the province of Maryland was invited to submit at the trial whatever evidence they had to show that the place of shooting was in their jurisdiction.[25] But at the trial of the case before the court of Oyer and Terminer held by the supreme judges at York the jurisdiction over the disputed land was shown to belong to Pennsylvania. It also appeared from the evidence in the case that the shooting of Dudley Digges was in all probability an accident, and Jacob Kitzmiller

[25] Colonial Record, V: 582–597; Archives, II: 70–83.

and his father were acquitted.[26] But this tragedy helped to sober the disputants somewhat and no further acts of such violence occurred, although the land disputes continued to disturb the peace of the settlement for almost a decade.

Thus did the German pioneers in York County unwittingly become the means of resisting the encroachments of the Marylanders at both of their points of collision with the Pennsylvania authorities. But both in the eastern part of the county and in the southwestern part, they stood their ground for the most part quite loyally and with true German tenacity endured the hardships of improving their lands and maintaining their rights until at length the cumbersome negotiations of the proprietaries determined the respective spheres of the two provinces and thus brought to the settlers the peace and prosperity in search of which they had left their native land. The running of the "Temporary Line of 1739" according to the royal order of King George II settled forever the difficulties in the Kreutz Creek Valley. Thomas Cressap, who had been captured and imprisoned in Philadelphia, was released and returned to Maryland.[27] The Pennsylvanians who had been carried off from that region and imprisoned in Baltimore jail were also set free.[28] The Kreutz Creek Settlement then began to grow rapidly.

But the German settlements on Digges's Choice were not freed from the disturbances of border difficulties for some years after the royal order had been issued. The vexed question of the exact bounds of Digges's grant under

[26] From the full account of the trial which Richard Peters, secretary of the province, wrote to the Penns in England immediately after the trial.

[27] Col. Rec., IV: 266.

[28] For example, Nicholas Perie, Col. Rec., V: 225.

his original survey and the further question concerning his right to lands north of the "temporary line" under a Maryland "resurvey" of 1745, continued to disturb the settlers in the southwestern part of the county and tended to discourage settlement there. The confusion continued, as we have seen, until 1752 when at the noted trial of Jacob Kitzmiller at York, in the presence of the attorney-generals of both provinces, the bounds of Digges's original survey were accurately determined and the principle was recognized that the lands north of the temporary line of 1739 which Digges had added to his original survey by his resurvey of 1745 were Pennsylvania property according to the royal order, and that therefore the Pennsylvania titles of the German residents on those lands were entirely valid. This decision, although it did not determine ultimately in what province those lands were, nevertheless served greatly to pacify the settlers in the southwestern part of the county and gave impetus to the influx of immigrants into that fertile region. Finally with the amicable adjustment of the boundary question by the proprietors in England in 1763 and the completion of Mason and Dixon's line in 1767 all the inhabitants of this neighborhood of Hanover found themselves the unquestioned citizens of the province of Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile the two settlements whose beginnings we have described were gradually growing in numbers and extent. New accessions were being made in constantly increasing numbers. The Kreutz Creek Settlement naturally grew more rapidly than that on Digges's Choice. As new immigrants arrived in the valley they pushed farther and farther to the west and southwest, selecting always the choicest farming lands for their settlements. Thus the settlement expanded from the Kreutz Creek

Valley into the Codorus Creek Valley and up this valley until it joined the German settlement at Hanover. So that in 1749 when York County was erected there was an almost continuous stretch of German plantations across the entire breadth of the county from the mouth of the Kreutz Creek in the east, across the very center of the county, to the banks of the Conewago in the southwest. This stretch of valley has been the home of the German element in the county ever since the planting of these earliest settlements. In 1740 the number of taxables in the county is said to have been over six hundred. More than three fourths of these were Germans, the rest being the English who had settled in the northern part of the county and the Scotch-Irish who had taken up their abode in the southeastern part. In 1749 the number of taxables reached almost fifteen hundred, the same proportion of Germans still obtaining.

But more than a decade before York County was separated from Lancaster County events had begun to shape themselves for the formation of a third German settlement in our county. Already in September, 1733, Rev. John Caspar Stoever, coming from Lancaster County, visited his German brethren west of the Susquehanna, gathered them together from the whole district of the Kreutz Creek and Codorus Creek Valleys, and organized them into "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Gemeinde an der Kathores." The first Church Record of this congregation contains on its fly-leaf the names of twenty-four of these earliest Germans who contributed to the purchase of the book.[29] Pastor Stoever baptized 191 persons and married 34 couples in this congregation before the close of his

[29] Now in the possession of the Rev. Dr. G. W. Enders, the present pastor of the Church.

pastorate at the end of 1743.[30] His successor, Rev. David Candler, organized the Lutheran Church on Digges's Choice, "Die Evangelisch-Lutherische Kanawagische Gemeinde," in April, 1743. These organizations were some of the guarantees of permanency and the harbingers of healthy growth of these settlements.

By the year 1739 the settlements immediately west of the Susquehanna had become so numerous and their Pennsylvania citizenship so obvious that the Provincial Assembly by special act added a new township to Lancaster County, the township of Hellam, which included most of what is now York County. In that same year a petition was presented to the Lancaster court by the inhabitants of Hellam Township praying for the opening of a public road between the Susquehanna and the Potomac. The petition was granted and of the six viewers appointed to locate this the first public road in the county at least four were Germans, namely, Michael Tanner, Christian Croll, Henry Hendricks and Woolrich Whisler. The road began at a point between the lands of James Wright and Samuel Tayler on the west bank of the Susquehanna immediately opposite the plantations of John Wright[31] and extended thence along the entire route of the German plantations through the Kreutz Creek and Codorus Creek Valleys, past Adam Forney's land (now Hanover) and Kitzmiller's Mill on the Conewago Creek, to the provin-

[30] A history of this Church is to be found in the article by the Rev. Dr. B. M. Schmucker in the *Lutheran Quarterly,* Vol. XVIII, 1888, pp. 473–529, "The Lutheran Church in York, Pa." A general history of the Lutherans on the Codorus and the Conewago is presented in Schmauk's "Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," Vol. I, Chapter XIV, pp. 357–393.

[31] To this point a road had been constructed from Lancaster in 1734.

cial line.[32] It was known as the Monocacy Road and covered a distance of 34 miles.

Thus the steps were taken in the German valley which were soon to lead to a county-seat for a new county and ultimately to give to Pennsylvania one of her most flourishing cities. For it was only two years after the ordaining of the Monocacy Road that a movement began which resulted in the establishing of a third German settlement in the county, destined in the course of time greatly to outgrow the other two and to play a significant rôle in national affairs. This was the town of York. In October, 1741, by order of the Penns, Thomas Cookson, Surveyor of Lancaster County, crossed the Susquehanna River and proceeded "to survey and lay off in lots a tract of land on the Codorus where the Monocacy Road crosses the stream." This point is as far west of the Susquehanna as Lancaster is east of it. The prospective town on the Codorus received the name York, a neighboring city of Lancaster in England. The site selected for the new town lay on both sides of the creek but only the part east of the stream was laid off into lots. Applications for lots were then invited and in the month following the survey, November, 1741, twenty-three lots were reserved by intending citizens. Of these at least twenty-one were taken by Germans, George Swope purchasing four, George Hoke two, and the others each one as follows:

Jacob Welsh	Michael Laub
Baltzer Spangler	Zachariah Shugart
Michael Swope	Nicholas Stuck
Christian Croll	Arnold Stuck

[32] Vide Gibson's "History of York County," p. 322. Michael Tanner was also one of those appointed in 1766 to view the road southward from Hanover to the line between the provinces.

Samuel Hoke	Matthais Onvensant
Hermanus Butt	Martin Eichelberger
Jacob Grebill	Henry Hendricks
Joseph Hinsman	and
Andrew Coaler	John Bishop.

All except the last two are certainly German. Hendricks is probably German, and John Bishop is very probably the Anglicized form of Johannes Bischof, who arrived at the port of Philadelphia October 27, 1739.

But an application for a lot did not in every case mean that residence in the new town was effected. A yearly quit-rent of seven shillings sterling was required by the proprietors for every lot that was taken up. James Logan, who was sent to regulate and supervise the affairs of the incipient town, imposed a condition upon the applicants by which each applicant was required within one year of the time of his application "to build upon his lot at his own private cost one substantial dwelling-house of the dimensions of sixteen feet square at least, with a good chimney of brick and stone, to be laid in or built with lime and sand"; otherwise his claim should be void. This was not an easy condition for the poor immigrants of that day to comply with. Few of the pioneer settlers had the means to build such houses, and of the few who had the means nearly all had gotten them through farming and this occupation they intended to continue now that they had crossed the Susquehanna. Consequently most of the newcomers to the county were not disposed to take up their residence in town but preferred to locate upon the fertile farms adjacent.[33] Accordingly the town grew

[33] George Swope and Baltzer Spangler afterwards kept public houses in the town. But Adam Miller was the first person to receive permission to keep a public house there. Vide Rupp's "History of Lancaster and York

slowly at first. Two years after it had been laid out seventy lots had been applied for, but many of these had been forfeited because of the failure to build and only eleven houses had actually been built, although several more were in prospect, among them a Lutheran and a Reformed house of worship.[34] Practically no public improvements had been made. In 1746 forty-four additional lots were reserved and in October, 1749, when York became a county-seat, the town consisted of sixty-three dwelling houses and two churches.[35] During the next five years under the efficient supervision of George Stevenson the town began to thrive and by the end of 1754 contained 210 dwelling houses. In 1764 when the town of Hanover was laid out, York was already growing rapidly. It was in the very center of a flourishing agricultural community and had attracted wide attention. Its population was predominantly German and it was to the thrifty German farms lying all about it that the town owed its growth and prosperity.[36]

The origin and the growth of this settlement at the

Counties," p. 574. In 1754 George Stevenson wrote from York: "The timber of the town land was all destroyed before I came here; the inhabitants ever since, have bought all their timber for building and firewood, very dear, of the adjacent farmers, which is discouraging to poor settlers, and few rich people settle here." See letter of October 26, quoted in Gibson, p. 516.

[34] Vide letter of James Logan to Thomas Penn, August 30, 1743. Among the Official Penn Manuscripts.

[35] A few persons had taken possession of lots and built homes on them without securing a legal title. The names of such town squatters are Jacob Billmeyer, Jacob Fakler, and Avit Shall. They were required to give up their possessions to the agent of the proprietaries in 1751. Rupp's "History," p. 575.

[36] Referring to the German citizens who constituted nearly the entire population of the town Thomas Penn wrote in 1765 of "the flourishing state to which the town hath arrived through their industry."

intersection of the Codorus Creek and the Monocacy Road cannot be understood entirely apart from the settlers in the country round about. Eight or nine years before York had been laid out as a town a number of Germans had taken up their abodes on the inviting lands in that vicinity. They had not come from the same region as that from which the original settlers on the Kreutz Creek had come. And in their new homes in York County they were for the most part too far west to be affected by the border disturbances which embroiled the settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley, although they had migrated into the county almost simultaneously with the settlers on the Kreutz Creek. Their plantations lay about the point where the Kreutz Creek Valley ceases and merges into the Codorus Creek Valley. From that point they stretched north and northeast along the course of the Codorus and some of them also stretched southwest along that creek.

Here these Germans had settled chiefly as squatters, undisturbed by the Indians and tacitly tolerated by the Pennsylvania authorities who knew that these settlers would secure warrants in the course of time. For a long time they constituted a group quite distinct from the settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley farther east.[37] Many of them had arrived here as early as 1733 and it was from their number that Pastor Stoever, in September of that year, gathered the members for the first church organization west of the Susquehanna. The location of the members of this congregation gave the new organization its name, the "Church on the Codorus." And the list of the

[37] The Lancaster County authorities knew that there were Germans settled at the west end of the Kreutz Creek Valley, for Blunston wrote on January 16, 1737: "Most of the Dutch not taken are come away that live towards this end of the valley."

names of the individuals who helped to purchase the first record book for that Church doubtless embraces the names of most of the German settlers in that neighborhood in the fall of 1733. Of this list of twenty-four names only four (Christian Croll, Philip Ziegler, Jacob Ziegler, and Michael Walck) are familiar to us from our study of the names of settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley. The others[38] were beyond the reach of those disturbances. Some of these German settlers along the Codorus afterwards drifted into the town of York. But most of them remained upon their thriving plantations and constituted the base of supplies and the ground for the prosperity of the new town. These settlers and their plantations must therefore be regarded as an integral part of the third German settlement in the county.

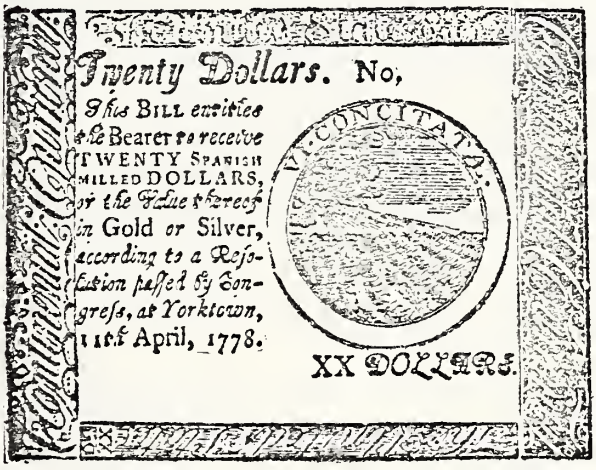
These, then, were the earliest German settlements in York County. After five years of border difficulties in the Kreutz Creek Valley and two decades of turmoil over the boundaries of Digges's Choice, the development of these

[38] These are as follows:

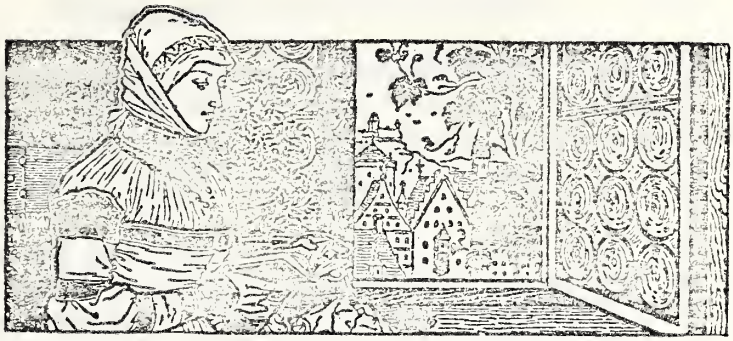
Martin Bauer	Christof Kraut	Heinrich Schultz
Johannes Bentz	Gottfried Mauch	Valentine Schultz
Joseph Beyer	Nicholas Koger	George Schwab
Paul Burkhardt	Jacob Scherer	George Ziegler
John Adam Diehl	Mathias Schmeiser	Heinrich Zanck
Carl Eisen	George Schmeiser	and
Baltzer Knetzer	George Zimmermann	One illegible.

A complete list of males to whom Pastor Stoever ministered during the ten years of his pastorate (1733–1743) as gathered from the entries in his record, includes exactly 100 names. Of these at least 14 are names that occur in the documents concerning the Kreutz Creek Settlement. This indicates that some of the settlers in that first settlement, probably those who were Lutherans, availed themselves of the ministrations of the pastor who served the settlement on the Codorus.

German settlements, stretching from one end of the county to the other, went steadily and peacefully forward until the outbreak of the French and Indian War. They concentrated, as we have seen, along the line of the Monocacy Road and this in turn followed for the most part the ancient Indian trail which had marked the course for early German missionary and pilgrim.



SPECIMEN OF CONTINENTAL MONEY PRINTED AT YORK DURING THE REVOLUTION.



CHAPTER V.

Whence the Germans Came and Why.

NOW that we have seen how the German element in York County had its beginning there, we cannot fail to be confronted by the larger and prior question as to the origin of these Germans before they settled on the banks of the Kreutz Creek, the Codorus and the Conewago. Why did they come to America? Where did they come from when they settled in York County? And how did they come to settle the particular parts of the county which they did and which their descendants have occupied to the present day?

Of the reason why the Germans left their native homes and braved the discomforts and dangers of an ocean voyage to take up their abodes upon the unsettled newlands of America we have a very clear intimation in a declaration wrung from them by their distresses in our county shortly after their settlement here. In the course of the proceedings concerning the "revolt of the Germans" in the Kreutz Creek Valley from Maryland authority and their return to Pennsylvania allegiance, the Germans had

occasion to send an answer to the Governor of Maryland (1736). In this statement they take occasion to explain why they left Germany and how they came to locate in what is now York County. For they set forth

"that being greatly oppressed in their native country, principally on account of their religion, they resolved, as many others had done before, to fly from it. That hearing much of the justice and mildness of the government of Pennsylvania, they embarked in Holland for Philadelphia, where on their arrival they swore allegiance to King George and fidelity to the proprietors of Pennsylvania and their government. That repairing to the great body of their countrymen settled in the County of Lancaster, on the east side of Susquehannah they found the lands there generally taken up and possessed, and therefore some of them by licenses from the proprietors of Pennsylvania, went over that River and settled there under their authority, and others according to a common practice then obtaining sate down with a resolution to comply as others should with the terms of the government when called on, but they had not been long there until some pretending authority from the government of Maryland, insisted on it that that country was in that province, and partly by threats or actual force and partly by very large promises, they had been led to submit to the commands of that government." Then they recount the ill treatment they have received at the hands of the Marylanders. "This uncommon and cruel usage" is only one of a number of arguments by which "we are persuaded in our own consciences we are clearly within the province of Pennsylvania." "We could not therefore but believe ourselves obliged in conscience in the honest discharge of the solemn engagements we had entered into at our first arrival in Pennsylvania, to return to our obedience to its proprietors as soon as we discovered we were truly seated within its limits." And in conclusion they appeal to the Governor's consideration against "the treating of a parcel of conscientious, industrious, and peaceable people, like rebels, for no other reason than . . . because we are

convinced of the mistakes we had been lately led into by the false assertions of persons of no credit."[1]

From this writing it is clear that these Germans had left their native land for a threefold reason, partly because of political oppression and severe religious persecutions at home, partly because of the example of many who had preceded them, and partly because of the alluring accounts they had heard about Pennsylvania. They had gone first to Lancaster County because most of the Germans in Pennsylvania were located there. They had continued through Lancaster and across the river and into what is now York County and had settled there, most of them as squatters without licenses but intending to take out licenses in course of time. Here their ignorance of the language of the government and their lack of acquaintance with political intrigues made them the easy victims of evil schemes. Their own motives were peaceful but they were inveigled into procedures which involved them in strife and unrest. The stubborn dispute of the provincial governments concerning the jurisdiction over the lands on which the Germans had settled entailed unhappy consequences for the newcomers and for a time threatened seriously to disturb the peace and permanence of their settlement.

Now the grounds of this religious persecution and the other kinds of oppression which these Germans had suffered in their native country and which they give as their reason for fleeing from Germany, are of no little importance for our subject. They carry us across the ocean and back more than two centuries into the past but they help us to understand the character and class of the immigrants,

[1] Archives, I: 492 f. This statement was signed by about sixty hands. Col. Rec., IV: 57.

the circumstances under which they left their homes and came to the New World, and the distinctive characteristics which they manifested in their lives and habitations after they arrived in York County. For that reason we must pause to enumerate, in outline at least, the causes of the German immigration to Pennsylvania in the eighteenth century.[2]

The chief causes are of two kinds. A long series of destructive wars, continued religious persecution, and re-

[2] The sources of information concerning German immigration to America are many and varied. A complete bibliography of works relating to Germans in the United States far exceeds 10,000 titles. The first volume of Professor A. B. Faust's "The German Element in the United States" (1909) gives a faithful summary of the history of German immigration into America. Chapters II—V deal in a general way with the immigration into Pennsylvania. At the close of Volume II Professor Faust presents a rather full bibliography compiled from European and American sources and containing nearly two thousand titles.

In the first chapter of Professor Oscar Kuhns's reliable volume on "The German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania" (1901) we have a brief but thoroughly accurate portrayal of "the historic background" of the immigration, and chapter two gives a very clear account of "The settling of the German counties of Pennsylvania." This work when read in connection with Professor Faust's two volumes serves to impress the student with the distinctive history and the distinctive qualities of the Pennsylvania Germans in contrast with the more modern waves of German immigrants. This distinction is not clear in Faust. The original Pennsylvania German settlers were part and portion of the American colonists and their spirit and ideals and characteristics were very different from those of the modern German Americans. Professor Kuhns's volume also contains a bibliography far less extensive than Faust's but much more useful for the general student.

For our brief survey of the story of Pennsylvania German immigration at the beginning of this chapter we have used besides general works like those of Faust and Kuhns and besides the works referred to in the other footnotes, such special works as Häusser, "Geschichte der Rheinischen Pfalz," Heidelberg, 1856; O. Seidensticker, "Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft von Pennsylvanien, 1764–1876," Philadelphia, 1876; and the volumes of "Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society."

lentless oppression by petty tyrants, had rendered existence at home almost unendurable, while favorable reports from earlier settlers beyond the Atlantic, more plentiful means of transportation, and an innate desire for adventure (*Wanderlust*), made the attractions of the foreign shore almost irresistible. These two sets of historical causes operated as mighty forces leading the Germans to turn their backs upon the homeland which they loved and to embark for a land of peace and plenty, as they thought.

The first of the series of wars that rendered life in Germany intolerable was the Thirty Years' War. This was the most awfully destructive and demoralizing struggle in history. Its horrors beggar description. It set Germany back in the scale of civilization at least two hundred years, so that she is only in the present day recovering her pristine position in the onward march of the nations. The dire consequences of the war fell most heavily upon the peasants, the foundation of the nation and the root of its growth. In many parts of the country in the course of the war 75 per cent. of the inhabitants were destroyed, 66 per cent. of the houses, 85 per cent. of the horses, and over 80 per cent. of the cattle.[3] These multiplied woes of war fell with greatest force upon southwestern Germany, especially the Palatinate. The Palatinate may be roughly defined as that part of Germany which lies about the left bank of the Rhine between Mayence and Spires. Two centuries ago it was one of the integral parts of the empire. It was this fair province that suffered most from the ravages of war in the seventeenth century. The Elector Palatine Frederick V himself precipitated the war and thus attracted to his own fertile land the full fury of that awful

[3] Gustav Freitag, "Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit," Vol. III, 234.

storm. In 1619 the Elector accepted the crown of Bohemia and thus became involved in war with the strong house of Austria. Retribution came swiftly and terribly. He was very quickly driven from his winter throne, deprived of his new crown, put to the ban, and robbed of his lands on the Rhine, which became at once the object of repeated spoliation for all the lawless hordes of dissolute soldiery. For years in succession the grim shadows of famine and pestilence brooded darkly over the land. So great was the desolation that in the last years of the war neither friend nor foe any longer entered the Palatinate, the melancholy fact staring them in the face that there was no longer anything to steal,—the most fertile area of Germany had become a desert.

The peace of 1648 endured but a few years so far as southwestern Germany was concerned. The survivors of the war had begun the tedious work of reviving their homes, their fields, and their fortunes. The new Elector granted religious freedom and this fact together with the liberal terms under which lands were granted to colonists attracted some of the best products of neighboring countries. The country began to prosper anew and was well on the way to recovery from its recent distresses, when in 1674 the blood-curdling cry of war rang out once more through the land, and the painful efforts of more than two decades remained fruitless. This time France was the aggressor. War was on between France and Holland, the War of the Protestant Netherlands, 1672–1678. From its position the Palatinate was most exposed to the ravages of the contending armies. For it was one of the borderlands of the German Empire, fair and prosperous, an attractive mark for the marauding bands of military robbers

and therefore destined to be crushed between the two millstones of the opposing powers. Louis XIV ordered the beautiful Palatinate to be devastated, to render it useless to his enemies. The work of devastation was done thoroughly. Once more the doleful tale of destruction and misery, of burning city and homeless peasant, is recorded, and it was at this point in the history of the Palatinate that the first faint beginnings of the emigration to Pennsylvania took place. But greater woes were yet to come to the Rhineland.

After a brief respite of less than ten years the War of the Palatinate (1688–1697) was begun. Louis XIV had laid claim to the entire Palatinate in the name of his sister-in-law. When the countries of northern Europe leagued themselves together in a mighty coalition to withstand this new effrontery Louis hurried a large army into the country. Then, because he could not hold the conquest he had made and because the Palatines had harbored the Huguenots expelled from France, the covetous French monarch gave summary orders to "burn the Palatinate." Breathing forth fire and slaughter his base hyenas of war leaped wildly upon the defenceless land. Crops were destroyed, villages and towns were reduced to ashes, and more than a hundred thousand innocent and helpless peasants were rendered homeless.

The war lasted seven years and when at length in 1697 the smoke lifted from the last glowing embers of the various parts of the Palatinate, there sat upon the throne, one John William, an ardent Romanist. Now religious persecution was added to economic bankruptcy. The persecution of Protestants, Lutherans and Reformeds, was carried on systematically. Their Church property was

confiscated to a very large extent and the worshippers in many cases expelled from the country. The sects, such as the Mennonites, Quakers, and Huguenots, were summarily driven from the land. Hundreds of petty persecutions on person and property were made. And this continued for nearly a century. The ravages of war followed one another in rapid succession. The War of the Palatinate had scarcely closed (1697) when the War of the Spanish Succession broke out (1701–1714). Then followed the War of the Austrian Succession (1741–1747). All of these were sorely felt in the Palatinate and other parts of southwestern Germany. Meanwhile the cruelties of religious persecution continued unabated. For a long period each new prince of the Palatinate forced a change of religion on his subjects. The injustice and the petty tyrannies of the rulers made life a constant burden and fostered a widespread discontent. The continued disturbances of war and religious persecution soon began to entail dire effects of a social and economic nature. For in the course of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries nearly 500,000 Palatines, Wuertembergers, and Swiss, were ruthlessly expelled from their homes. Exile was followed by famine, famine by pestilence, and at last all the finer impulses of the heart were threatened with complete extinction in the gross wretchedness of brutalizing despair. It is not a matter for surprise, therefore, that the Germans in the midst of such trials set their faces resolutely towards the west in the hope of finding a better land where peace and quiet reigned and where there was liberty of conscience. And coming as they did from such conditions of long-continued oppression and ruin, we cannot expect them, after they arrive in the New World, to take a place at once in the forefront of social and literary circles.

If we take a general view of the streams of German immigration which flowed into Pennsylvania before the Revolutionary War, we can distinguish three well-defined periods.[4] The first period extends from 1683 (when the first settlement was made under William Penn at Germantown) to 1710. During this period the number of those who came was small, probably not exceeding in total 500 souls. They all remained in or near Philadelphia, and this period of immigration had therefore no direct influence upon York County. The second period from 1710 to 1727, is marked by a considerable increase in the number of immigrants, although there is as yet no steady influx of large numbers. Perhaps 14,000 would be a liberal estimate for the immigration during the second period.[5] The year 1727 marks an epoch in this matter for it was then that the immigration began to assume large proportions and that official statistics began to be kept. The third period therefore begins with the year 1727 and extends to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. During this period the numbers of German immigrants swell to enormous size, and by the year 1775 the grand total of Pennsylvania Germans must have been no less than 110,000 or about one third of the total population of the state, a proportion which seems to have kept itself practically unchanged down to the present day.

When the Germans fled from the hardships of their life in southwestern Germany and in Switzerland they invariably took their course down the Rhine. The earliest settlers of Germantown made their way directly from Hol-

[4] This division of periods is the one presented by Kuhns, p. 31.

[5] Vide Kuhns's refutation (German and Swiss Settlements, pp. 52–54) of Rupp ("Thirty Thousand Names," pp. 1 f.) and Wayland ("German Element of the Shenandoah Valley," p. 27).

land to America. But after a few years, at the instigation of Queen Anne who had compassion on the suffering exiles and who was earnestly seeking settlers for her own American colonies, the exiles began to cross the Channel into England where they threw themselves upon the kindness of the Queen's government. Their numbers sometimes embarrassed the English government. In 1709 as if by sudden common impulse over 13,000 Palatines swarmed into London and asked to be sent to America. Of this number over 3,000 were sent to the colony of New York and settled along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers.[6] Here after a decade of varying fortunes, insuperable difficulties arose in regard to the titles to their land. They were forced to leave the homes which they had built with the labor of many years and in 1723 three hundred of them painfully made their way through the wilderness of southern New York to the headwaters of the Susquehanna and floated down the river until they came to the mouth of the Swatara Creek, opposite the northern part of York County. Up the Swatara they made their way to the district now known as Tulpehocken, where they settled Heidelberg and Womelsdorf.[7] They were followed in 1728 by a large party from New York under the leadership of Conrad Weiser. Thus we have the beginnings of Pennsylvania Germans in Berks and Lebanon Counties. This became one of the gathering points for German immigration into Pennsylvania and from this region came not a few of the very earliest settlers in York County. The Germans had

[6] The experiences of the Germans in the colony of New York are graphically depicted by Rev. Sanford H. Cobb in his "The Story of the Palatines: an Episode in Colonial History," 1897.

[7] Vide supra, p. 20. For an accurate and detailed history of the Tulpehocken settlement and its subsequent development, vide Schmauk's "Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," Vol. I, pp. 433–576.

made their first and last effort in colonial New York. They began to advertise among their people in the homeland what ill treatment they had received in New York and how favorable were the conditions for settlement in Pennsylvania, and henceforth the Germans began assiduously to avoid New York and the mainstream of their immigration came to Pennsylvania.

Another important distributing center of Pennsylvania Germans before the Revolution was Lancaster County. The settlement of this county was due primarily to the religious persecutions of the emigrants rather than to economic causes. The movement began in 1710 and had its chief source in Switzerland. For nearly a century the doctrines of the Mennonites had been flourishing in Switzerland.[8] But like the Quakers in England and New England, the Mennonites in Switzerland were the victims of systematic persecution. From time to time individuals and families made their way across the Swiss frontiers and sought refuge among their brethren in the faith on the banks of the Rhine. Thus was formed a chain of Mennonites all the way from Switzerland to Amsterdam. And when these plain but serious people heard the favorable reports concerning the peace and prosperity of their brethren at Germantown, Pennsylvania, and when their awful persecutions in Switzerland continued undiminished, many of them resolved to try their fortunes in the land of William Penn. Accordingly in 1710 some hundreds, perhaps thousands, of the most desirable citizens of Switzerland and the Rhine Valley arrived at Philadelphia and selected as their settlement a tract of 10,000 acres on the Pequea Creek, Conestoga, just east of the Susquehanna River, in what is now Lancaster County. These industrious and

[8] D. Musser, "The Reformed Mennonite Church," 1873.

gentle Mennonites lived on good terms with the Indians and by the aid of the German immigrants that soon poured into the county they made Lancaster the garden-spot and pride of Pennsylvania.

After these successful beginnings had been made, in Germantown, in the Lebanon Valley, and in Lancaster County, the tide of German immigrants began to flow strongly. The influence was contagious. The ancient Wanderlust of the Teutons revived in the breasts of their descendants. The settlers in America returned favorable reports to their friends and relatives still bearing their hard conditions in the homeland. Tracts were published describing utopian conditions of the New World. Shipowners hired agents to stimulate the exodus from the valley of the Rhine. Lands, farms, and plantations were freely offered to every settler for a small amount of purchase money. Many representatives of every class of society in that overburdened population of Europe yielded to the alluring prospect held out by the New World so full of opportunity for the industrious. Besides the great body of political refugees and those persecuted on account of their religion there were also considerable numbers of others, such as the industrious artisan seeking opportunity to maintain his family, the overburdened tenant groaning under a load of taxes and labors, the unfortunate merchant looking for better investments and more promising speculations, the impecunious nobleman seeking a chance to retrieve his lost fortune, the romantic spirit in search of adventure and desiring to hunt and trap unrestrained in the primeval forests, and the poverty-stricken redemptioner fleeing the starvation that threatened him at home. All these helped to swell the stream westward. With the year

1727 the Germans began to come in such large numbers that the colonial government grew alarmed and began to keep official lists of these immigrants exacting from each man an oath of allegiance to the British government. The largest contingent of Germans continued to come from the Palatinate but there were also considerable numbers from the neighboring states of Germany.

If now the question be asked why this German immigration focused thus upon Pennsylvania to the exclusion of the other provinces the answer is fourfold. In the first place, before the German immigration began, William Penn, himself half German by birth, had made two journeys to Holland and Germany and had made many acquaintances among those who were the objects of religious persecution in the Fatherland. When therefore the great Quaker received his grant of land in America these people among whom he had visited in Germany were naturally interested in his project to establish a colony in the New World and specially susceptible to the arguments presented in his pamphlet calling for colonists. When they crossed the ocean they were received by Penn and settled at Germantown. Those who followed them across the ocean naturally followed them also into Penn's province. Thus the tide began to flow into Pennsylvania.[9]

In the second place, when the stream of German immigration into America grew stronger and the influence of the English government tried to determine its direction, the experiment of sending Germans to New York was tried. But, as we have seen, it was unsuccessful. The Germans in New York soon became involved in serious

[9] John Fiske in his "Dutch and Quaker Colonies" (Vol. I, p. 351) agrees with Diffenderffer in assigning Penn's travels in Germany in 1671 and 1677 as the chief cause in directing German immigration to Pennsylvania.

difficulties with the English there. They became convinced that the colonial authorities were unjust to them, and that, too, because they were Germans. Many of them removed to Pennsylvania where they found conditions quite satisfying. Then they sent word back to the Fatherland establishing a veritable prejudice against New York and strongly urging their friends to come to Penn's land.[10]

Thirdly, Pennsylvania was far more widely advertised in Germany than any other of the thirteen colonies. Immediately after Penn's grant received the royal confirmation in 1681 he published his ten-page compilation entitled "Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America." This was translated into German[11] by his counsellor Benjamin Furley and circulated broadcast in the valley of the Rhine. In 1682 Penn sent forth his second advertisement of his province. It is entitled "Information and Direction to Such Persons as are inclined to America, More Especially Those related to the Province of Pennsylvania." This was a pamphlet of three and a half pages. It was quickly translated into German and spread abroad in the hope of attracting colonists to Pennsylvania. And another work that was translated and published in German[12] was Penn's "Brief Account of the

[10] "The Germans, not satisfied with being themselves removed from New York, wrote to their relatives and friends and advised them, if ever they intended to come to America, to avoid New York, where the government had shown itself so unjust. This advice was of such influence that the Germans who afterwards went in great numbers to North America constantly avoided New York and always selected Pennsylvania as the place of their settlement."—Peter Kalm's "Travels in America" (1747 and 1748), Vol. I: 271. Kalm ascribes the comparatively slow growth of colonial New York to this treatment of the Germans.

[11] "Eine Nachricht wegen der Landschaft Pennsylvania in America," Amsterdam, 1681.

[12] Kurtz, "Nachricht von der Americanischen Landschaft Pennsylvania," 1682.

Province of Pennsylvania." Then followed a number of more accurate and more detailed descriptions from the learned pen of Pastorius, leader of the original settlers of Germantown. These were all intended to arouse interest in Penn's colony among mercantile and pietistical circles. In this they succeeded, as results show. The chief of Pastorius's contributions to the advertisement of early Pennsylvania among the Germans was his "Umständige geographische Beschreibung der zu allerletzt erfundenen Provintz Pensylvaniae," published in 1700. But among the advertising influences tending to draw German immigration to Pennsylvania, more important than any we have mentioned is Daniel Falckner's "Curieuse Nachricht von Pennsylvania."[13] When Falckner returned to Halle after some five years of experience and observation in Pennsylvania, his friend, August Hermann Francke, who was then at the head of the Pietistic movement in Germany, propounded to him one hundred and three questions concerning the voyage to America and the condition of the country and its inhabitants, both European and Indian. To these questions Falckner replied in writing with frank and exhaustive answers. Questions and answers were published in book form at Frankfurt and Leipsic in 1702, and the work constituted for years the chief source of information for intending German immigrants. It passed through several editions, and became a mighty factor, not only in stimulating immigration to America but more particularly in directing it to the province of Pennsylvania. This vigorous advertisement among the Germans of the colony of Pennsylvania is entirely without a parallel in any other of the original thirteen colonies and it serves in no small de-

[13] Edited by Julius F. Sachse and published in Volume XIV of the "Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society," 1905.

gree to account for the fact that German immigration to America concentrated upon this province.[14]

Finally, Pennsylvania made a special appeal to such as were driven from their homes on account of their religion. And for the majority of German immigrants to this country in the early eighteenth century the chief cause of their flight was religious persecution at home. The avowed purpose of Penn in establishing his colony was to provide religious freedom for the persecuted. He called his government a "Holy Experiment." His plan as embodied in his "Frame of Government" was to extend the benefits of complete religious and political liberty to all. This was one of the chief arguments advanced by Penn and his agents in advertising his province. Freedom of conscience was the glittering gem that they held out before the longing eyes of the oppressed. It was an argument that naturally appealed to multitudes in those days of chaotic religious conditions. Those who settled in Pennsylvania found their expectations in this respect entirely fulfilled. The result was that, among the Germans at least, Pennsylvania came to be regarded as preëminently a place of religious liberty, a refuge for the persecuted. And thousands upon thousands of those who were distressed in heart and conscience looked longingly towards the west and when

[14] We have enumerated only the most important of the literary works that helped to induce German immigration to Pennsylvania. A detailed list of such works is found in Sachse's "Pennsylvania: the German Influence on its Settlement and Development. Part I: The Fatherland (1450–1700)," pp. 126–168. To this is added an Appendix, pp. 173–228, containing fac-similes of the title pages of the books and pamphlets that influenced the German emigration. This work is a reprint from Volume VII (1897) of "The Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society." A critical account of these works is also found in Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History of America," Vol. III: 495–516.

the opportunity came to cross the ocean they aimed directly for the province of Pennsylvania.[15]

Such, in brief, are the reasons why Pennsylvania received the great preponderant mass of German immigration in colonial times.[16] From the very beginnings of the history of the commonwealth the Germans have constituted one third of her total population and have at all times exercised a profound influence upon her progress and development. Other colonies had their German settlements. New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana were not without their representatives from the Fatherland. But none of these, nor all of them combined, could compare in number or in influence with the German settlements in Pennsylvania, where they have always been the most

[15] Christopher Saur, the celebrated Pennsylvania German printer and publisher, himself a Dunkard, says in his "Pennsylvania Berichte" of October 16, 1754:

Pennsylvania ist ein solches Land, von desgleichen man in der gantzen Welt nicht höret oder lieset; viele tausend Menschen aus Europa sind mit verlangen hierher gekommen, bloss um der gütigen Regierung und Gewissensfreyheit wegen. Diese edle Freyheit ist wie ein Lockvogel oder Lockspeisse, welche den Menschen erst nach Pennsylvanien bringt und wann der gute Platz nach und nach enge wird, so ziehen die Menschen auch von hier in die angrentzende englische Collonien und werden also die englischen Collonien um Pennsylvanien willen mit vielen Einwohnern aus Deutschland besetzt zum Nutzen der Krone." Quoted in Seidensticker, "Geschichte der Deutschen Gesellschaft," p. 12.

[16] Once the stream of German immigration had begun to flow strongly into Pennsylvania this fact itself served as an argument to attract others to this province. Thus in 1711 Moritz Wilhelm Höen published the advice of the German pastor in London, Anton Wilhelm Böhme, under the title, "Das verlangte nicht erlangte Kanaan by der lustgräbern, etc." in which it is said: Im Gegentheil ist by Pennsylvanien zu mercken dass daselbst mehr Teutsche Colonien sich gesetzt haben als in einem einigen andern Theil der Englischen Plantationen in America; welche die jenigen zumercken haben die etwa von Lands-Leuten einige Hülfe und Hand-Reichung bey ihrer ersten Ankunft erwarten möchten."

important single racial element within the borders of the state.

Coming into the province through the port of Philadelphia these immigrants only gradually made their way into the interior. Step by step they spread out in all directions from the city of Philadelphia. Germantown, the pioneer of all German settlements in America, now the twenty-second ward in the city of Philadelphia, remained predominantly a German city for more than a hundred years after its settlement and was chiefly prominent during the eighteenth century as the base for distribution of German immigration to the interior counties in southeastern Pennsylvania. The steady expansion of the German colony westward and southward in the eighteenth century is as interesting as the movements of their Alemannic ancestors in the fourth century and would be a fruitful theme for study. At the very beginning of the century we see the hardy German pioneers move out from Germantown and enter the unbroken wilderness, clearing the lands and turning the primeval forest into grain-covered fields. First they were content to remain in the vicinity of Philadelphia, in the counties of Montgomery, Lancaster, and Berks. Then as the population increased they made their way further and further to the west. As good lands became scarcer they crossed the Susquehanna and founded the counties of York, Adams, and Cumberland. Then they pushed northward into Dauphin, Lebanon, Lehigh, Northampton, and Monroe Counties. Towards the middle of the century Pennsylvania herself became a center of distribution of German immigration, which spread out from the Quaker commonwealth to all points south and west. As early as 1732 promising settlements had been made by

Pennsylvania Germans in Western Maryland and in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.[17] Germans from Berks County had settled at various places in the central and western parts of North Carolina.[18] When Ohio was thrown open to colonists after the successful issue of the French and Indian War, Germans from Pennsylvania were among the enterprising pioneers who settled there.[19] Still later they were in the forefront of that vast movement which wave by wave swept over the broad expanse of the west and northwest and won it to the purposes of civilization. The settlement of York County, Pennsylvania, is therefore simply one small step in the Teutonic occupation of colonial Pennsylvania and the general westward expansion of American population before the Revolution. Its relation to subsequent American history can easily be seen when it is regarded as one of the very first steps preliminary to the "winning of the west," an achievement in which the Pennsylvania Germans and the more recent German-Americans have always borne a highly important part.

More specifically it may now be asked from what part or parts of Pennsylvania the Germans came who first settled York County. Few of them came to our county directly from the port of landing as untried European immigrants. Most of them had reached America before the official lists of German arrivals began to be kept in 1727 and hence had some taste of American life before the val-

[17] J. W. Wayland, "The German Element of the Shenandoah Valley" (1907), p. 33; Faust, Vol. I, pp. 188 ff.

[18] Williamson, "History of North Carolina," Vol. II, p. 71; Bernheim, "German Settlements and the Lutheran Church in the Carolinas" (1872), pp. 150 f.; Faust, Vol. II, pp. 228 ff.

[19] Vide, *e. g.*, Roosevelt, "The Winning of the West," Vol. I, Chapter V, pp. 139 f. (Sagamore Edition).

leys of York County were thrown open to settlers. Then in the late twenties and early thirties when proprietary restrictions and Indian claims were lifted west of the Susquehanna, they were moved by various considerations to dispose of their former lands and improvements and to begin life a second time on American soil by taking up lands on the inviting stretches of the newly opened county. It was this class of people, with several years of pioneer experience behind them, who constituted the great majority of the original German element in York County.

Some of the earliest settlers did, indeed, come directly from their landing-place and made our county their first American home, but such are comparatively rare instances. Of the known names of earliest settlers in the Kreutz Creek Valley and on Digges's Choice more than four fifths had arrived in this country before those settlements were begun and hence must have settled elsewhere before coming to York County. A search of the official lists[20] of German immigrants reveals the fact that less than one fifth of those mentioned above (pp. 59 f, 64, 75 ff) are to be found among the arrivals from 1727 to 1740. Nor does the identity of name always identify the person. Tobias Frey, Philip Ziegler, Nicholas Bucher, Nicholas Perie, Michael Miller, Caspar Spangler, and John Lehmann arrived in 1727. Peter Mittelkauf, Frederick Leader and John Morningstar arrived in 1728.[21] Jacob

[20] Division of Public Records, Pennsylvania State Library, Harrisburg. Vide Rupp's "Thirty Thousand Names."

[21] Peter Mittelkauf is known to have settled first in Montgomery County, as did also Michael Will (Wüll) who arrived in 1732. Vide supra, p. 76. Johannes Morgenstern's name occurs as late as June, 1734, on the baptismal register of Pastor Stoever's Record for the Lutheran Church of the Trappe in Montgomery County. Vide "Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society," Vol. VI, pp. 178, 179 and 180.

Krebell and Christian Croll arrived in 1729. John Counts and Henry Smith arrived in 1730. All of these had arrived before the German migration across the Susquehanna had begun. Hence they must first have settled elsewhere in Pennsylvania. But Jacob Welshover, Henry Bann and Martin Schultz arrived in 1731 and may have gone directly to York County. Likewise the following: Martin Weigle, Martin Bower, Adam Miller (arrived 1732), Hans Steinman (1733), Ulrich Whistler (1733), Jacob Huntzecker (1733), Michael Spangler (1737), Martin Buyers (1738), and William Oler (1737). Matthias Ulrich arrived in 1738 but from his deposition of August 29, 1746, it is evident that he did not settle on Digges's Choice until 1742, just before making his visit to Germany.[22] Peter Ensminger arrived in Philadelphia in 1733 but first settled in Lancaster County where he was naturalized in 1734 or 1735.[23] It is clear, therefore, that at all times the great mass of the immigrants into our county used some other part of Pennsylvania as a stepping-stone.[24]

Some few may have come from Maryland but the number of those who came from that direction could not at any time have been very considerable. It is known, for example, that in 1765 Richard MacAllister sold several of his town lots to "George Naes, tanner, of Baltimore town, in the province of Maryland," and that after that the Nace family resided in Hanover.[25] The road on the

[22] Archives, I: 700.

[23] Rupp's "Thirty Thousand Names," p. 436.

[24] In the statement of the Germans of August 13, 1736, they say: "being many of us then newly arrived in America," Col. Rec., IV: 64. But in the light of the above facts this expression cannot be taken to preclude several years residence in this country. It simply serves to explain their lack of acquaintance with political conditions ("altogether strangers to the boundaries") and accounts for their susceptibility to "plausible pretences."

[25] Lucy Forney Bittinger's "The Forney Family, 1690–1893," p. 59.

line of the present Hanover and Baltimore turnpike had been laid out by order of the Baltimore County Court as early as 1736.[26] This highway early established direct communication between Baltimore and the Conewago settlements. But there is no evidence to indicate that such transfers of German residence from Baltimore to York County took place earlier than that of George Naes in 1765 or that they were at all frequent even at so late a date as 1765. The same is true of the Germans in the Kreutz Creek Settlement. The Germans whom Cressap placed on the improvements of those whom he succeeded in expelling from the west side of the Susquehanna had not been brought from Maryland. They were in all probability impecunious Pennsylvania German squatters from York or Lancaster County whom Cressap and his agents had seduced by fair promises. For in all the negotiations concerning the border difficulties between the provinces the distinction is sharply drawn between "the Marylanders" and "the Germans." The Maryland authorities assume that the Germans before settling west of the Susquehanna had been within the proper bounds of Pennsylvania, they protest against the action of the Pennsylvania authorities in securing the sworn allegiance of the Germans to the province of Pennsylvania immediately upon their arrival at Philadelphia, and they never claim, as they certainly would have done if there had been the least semblance of support for the claim, that the Germans had come from Maryland before taking up lands on the controverted territory. Everywhere the assumption

[26] According to a statement in a petition of the Conewago citizens of 1766 asking that the northern ten miles of the road be viewed and recorded in Pennsylvania. This petition is quoted in Gibson's "History of York County," p. 322.

is that the Germans in that settlement had come from Pennsylvania.[27]

It would seem that as a class the settlers on the Codorus and about the future site of York had less American experience when they came to our county than those in the other German settlements. They had come more directly from the Fatherland. An unusual proportion of those gathered together by Pastor Stoever in 1733 had arrived in America after September, 1727. At least two thirds of the original members of that congregation were recent arrivals (5 of them had arrived in 1727, 1 in 1729, 5 in 1731, and 6 in 1732) while in the other settlements, as we have seen, less than one fifth of the whole number had come after 1727. And this settlement continued to draw more extensively from the newest arrivals than the other settlements. For of the 100 names of males entered in Stoever's baptismal register before 1741 at least 49 had come to America since September, 1727 (5 in 1727, 1 in 1728, 1 in 1730, 10 in 1731, 23 in 1732, 6 in 1733, 2 in 1734, and 1 in 1737). It is safe to conclude, therefore, that as a class the German settlers in the central part of the county had not tarried so long after landing in America before they came hither. But even they did not, except in a very few instances, come to York County directly from the port of landing. When the town of York was founded the earliest lot-owners came from among the Germans already living in the county.[28] In the course of its growth and until it became a county-seat the town

[27] Colonial Records, IV: 132 and 142.

[28] Among the names of the first applicants for lots (p. 90 f) those of Baltzer Spangler, Michael Swope, Christian Croll, George Swope, Jacob Grebell, and Henry Hendricks are familiar to us as the names of early residents in the Kreutz Creek Valley.

continued to draw its citizens from the outlying districts of the county and from Lancaster County. After the progress of the earliest settlements was well under way and after the border difficulties were adjusted it occurred more frequently than earlier that Germans settled in York County immediately upon their landing on our shores. We have one striking instance of this in the case of Lorentz Schmal. He arrived in Philadelphia on September 2, 1743, and went at once to take up a farm at what is now Maish's Mills, six miles southeast of York, where he became the progenitor of the numerous and influential Smalls of the county.[29] But up to the middle of the century when Yorktown began to attract attention, this class of settlers directly from the Fatherland formed no considerable part of the community.

The great majority of the German settlers in York County came from the fertile lands of Lancaster County just across the Susquehanna. This was the chief source of recruits and reinforcements for the York County settlements but it was not the only source. Some of them came, as we have seen, from Philadelphia and Philadelphia County. Such was the case with Adam Forney, the conspicuous pioneer among the Germans on Digges's Choice, who had been living in Philadelphia County fully ten years before he removed to the southwestern part of York County.[30] Such also was the case with George Albright and his son Anthony, who had settled in Philadelphia upon their arrival from the Palatinate and had remained there some eight years or more before taking up lands in the valley of the Codorus near the newly founded town of

[29] "Genealogical Records of George Small, etc.," p. 4.

[30] Vide supra, p. 73.

York.[31] Some of the immigrants into York County came from the banks of the Schuylkill in Montgomery County. Such was the case with Andrew Schreiber, also one of the earliest settlers on Digges's Choice, who had been settled at Goshenhoppen near the Trappe for nearly thirteen years before he took up his abode near Christ Church. His brother Ludwig, their stepbrother David Young, Peter Mittelkauf, and Michael Will also came from Montgomery County.[32] The Tulpehocken settlements in Berks and Lebanon Counties also made their contribution to the valleys of the Codorus and the Conewago.

But while these counties along the course of the Schuylkill sent of their valued citizens to strengthen the settlements of York County, yet their combined total output to that county was not nearly so great as that of the single county of Lancaster on the Susquehanna. As the eastern counties furnished the first settlers for Digges's Choice and the Conewago, so Lancaster County furnished the first settlers for the Kreutz Creek and Codorus Valleys. And the indications are that throughout the first three decades of the history of these settlements the greater number of the Germans on the Conewago in the southwestern part of the county came from the more remote regions of the Tulpehocken, the Schuylkill, and the Perkiomen, while the vast mass of those in the valley of the Kreutz Creek came from the nearby lands of the Conestoga and the Pequea.[33]

When the German settlements in York County began Lancaster County was already well settled. Hundreds of

[31] "Genealogical Records of George Small, Philip Albright, Johann Daniel Dünckel, etc.," pp. 99 f.

[32] Vide supra, pp. 75.

[33] Of many of these it is definitely stated that they formerly resided in Lancaster County.

Swiss Mennonites had settled in the western part of the county in 1710 and for several decades thereafter their brethren in the faith, both in Switzerland and along the Rhine, made Lancaster County their objective when they decided to forsake their European homes. Then people of other religious persuasions who were persecuted on account of their faith, Lutherans and Reformeds, joined the stream to Lancaster County. Its picturesque seclusion made it appeal also to that class of religionists who were given to extreme pietism and a semi-weird mysticism. The reputation of its fertile soil made it specially attractive to people who must needs devote themselves to agriculture.[34] All of these factors helped to swell the procession of Germans from the port of Philadelphia to the fertile soil of Lancaster County. Thus in course of time this county came to be known as the chief gathering-place of Germans in the province, the location of "the great body" of them, and hence most of the newcomers in those early decades began their experience in America by "repairing to the great body of their countrymen settled in the county of Lancaster on the east side of the Susquehanna."[35] The York County Germans were simply doing what "many others had done before" them when they set out for Lancaster County immediately upon their arrival in America.

What the causes were that led the German people to

[34] George Ford's MSS., quoted in Rupp's "History of Lancaster County," p. 115, says: "Their success, the glowing, yet by no means exaggerated accounts given by them, of the scenery of the country, the fertility of the soil they cultivated, the abundance of game with which the forest teemed, the quantity and delicacy of the fish which the rivers yielded; but above all, the kind and amicable relationship they cultivated and maintained with their Indian neighbors, all conspired to make them the objects of attention, and afterwards one of the prominent points whither immigration tended in an increasing and continued stream."

[35] See the statement of the Germans quoted above pp. 97 f.

cross the Susquehanna River into the bounds of York County they themselves imply in their statement that "they found the lands there [*i. e.*, east of the River] generally taken up and possessed and therefore . . . went over the River." It was not because of political oppression or unsatisfactory religious conditions such as had moved them to leave the Palatinate. It was not because of dire economic necessity, such as had impelled the Germans of New York to leave the Mohawk Valley and settle in the Lebanon Valley, Pennsylvania. It was not race prejudice such as helped to determine the movements of the early Scotch-Irish in America. It was not the love of adventure, such as operated in the settlement of Ohio. Nor was it the desire for great financial gain through speculation in lands, such as contributed to the German settlement of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. But it was simply the next and most natural step in the expansion of the population in the search of the most comfortable means of subsistence and the most convenient soil upon which to invest their meager savings and fix their humble dwellings. The continuous stream of German farmers into the territory just east of the Susquehanna had occupied the best and most convenient farming districts there and in the third decade of the century many of those who had settled there found themselves crowded and so sold their lands and improvements to their neighbors or to newcomers and moved on to where lands were more plentiful and convenient.[36] It was a short step across the Susquehanna.[37] The soil promised

[36] "Dahero gehen sie immer weiter fort in das wilde Gebüsche. Solche die . . . aus Noth weiter fortgehen müssen in die noch ungebauten Einöden, schreiben bisweilen die beweglichsten Briefe, sie erzählen wie gut sie es gehabt." H. M. Muhlenberg in his *Hallesche Nachrichten,* I: 342.

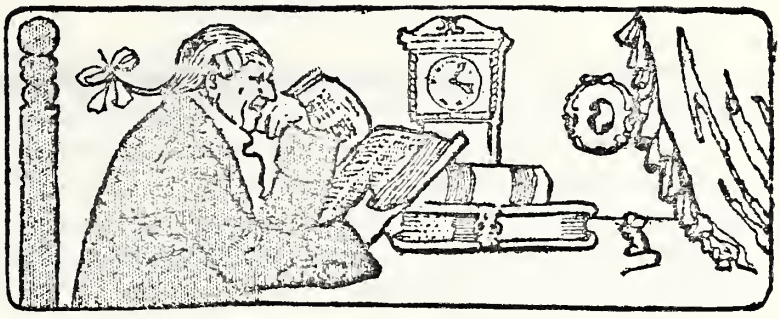
[37] As the Susquehanna could not be forded, ferries were established at

well. Fathers saw better prospects there for securing lands for their growing sons. They had spent several years in the New World and had become accustomed to the pioneer life. The period of stress in their history was passed and they were now in a better position to endure the struggle with the untamed forests than they would have been immediately after their arrival in the country. And above all the persuasions and inducements held out to them by the proprietary agents who wished to preëmpt the soil west of the river under Pennsylvania authority, helped to encourage them in their expansion and furnished the immediate occasion for it.

Such was the combination of immediate causes that brought the Germans to the Kreutz Creek Settlement. And very similar must have been the motives of those who settled Digges's Choice. There is evidence that these settlers in the southwestern part of the county also had gathered somewhat of possessions in the way of farming implements and equipment before emigrating from their former abodes, so that they too had some experience and were not the raw and unprepared victims of pioneer conditions. It is worthy of note also that in the case of these settlers on Digges's Choice we must count as a contributory cause, in addition to the causes mentioned above, the personal work of John Digges through his soliciting agents.

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an early date. The earliest and most important of these was John Wright's Ferry, chartered in 1730. It crossed the river at the point where the road from Lancaster and the Monocacy Road afterwards met the river. Wright's Ferry was established to meet the needs of intending settlers in York County. But once established it also helped to give direction to subsequent immigration into those parts by providing the only convenient crossing-place. For more than a century it was part of the great highway from Philadelphia to the West. In 1814 it was converted into the Columbia bridge.



CHAPTER VI.

Outstanding Characteristics.

FROM the foregoing account of the steps in the movements of the Germans from the time they left their native land until they reached York County, it must be evident that the original element in our county had two outstanding characteristics, namely, that by occupation they were almost exclusively farmers, and that in character they were hardy, aggressive and self-reliant. Both of these characteristics serve to indicate the distinctive relation of the German element in York County to the general movement of Germans in this country and help to determine their distinctive contribution to American civilization.

The resoluteness and independence of spirit which characterized the York County Germans from the very beginning distinguishes them from most of the other German settlements in America at the time of their beginnings. For as a rule the German pioneers in this country had fled from their homes and had reached our shores under circumstances that left them broken in spirit, practically destitute of means, satisfied with a mere livelihood, and not at all disposed to resist the injustice of the authorities or the

impositions of their neighbors. Neither their class nor their condition permitted them to make any immediate contribution to the stream of American civilization.

The very earliest settlement, that of Germantown, had, it is true, manifested a high degree of aggressiveness and self-confidence and had attracted the respectful attention of all the other colonists. But that was due not only to the more favorable conditions under which these settlers had emigrated but also to the fact that the members of this closed German community on the banks of the Delaware enjoyed the personal acquaintance and the special favor of the great founder of Pennsylvania, who was their brother in the faith and who had been their companion in persecution. Moreover, for a whole generation this settlement had the great benefit of the leadership of the learned and distinguished Pastorius. For these reasons the inhabitants of Germantown were able to begin at once and to maintain throughout a flourishing German civilization and at the same time compel the esteem and respect of their English-speaking neighbors.

But quite different was the experience of the other German settlements in America. The thousands of Palatines who came to New York in 1710 were not the bold, self-reliant souls who go forth in search of religious freedom, else their history in New York might have been very different from what it was. Rather were they the pitiable victims of economic bankruptcy, fleeing from their homes in search of the necessaries of life. They were willing and able to work and some years later, when they could make the opportunity, they proved themselves to be really expert farmers. But when they first arrived in this country, through no fault of their own they were placed in

circumstances that precluded the free exercise of their agricultural talents and compelled them to engage in an ungrateful task and one to which they were not at all adapted. Their unhappy past had filled them with infinite patience and endurance and had made them all too willing to be led and ruled, though they were without leaders and rulers among their own ranks. Even before crossing the ocean they had become the objects of English scorn. For when in 1709 some 14,000 of these economic fugitives from the Palatinate and from Würtemberg flocked aimlessly into London, their destitute condition aroused the pity of the English and even of the visiting Indian chiefs, and out of commiseration for the "poor miserable Germans" a camp was provided for them on Black Heath where as the objects of charity they were kept from starvation during the winter. And when in the spring they were sent by thousands to Ireland and to the American colonies, 3,000 of them were dispatched to New York. Those who survived the horrors of transportation across the ocean were driven into veritable slavery on the banks of the Hudson and set to work under government overseers to make tar for the English navy. This colony the English settlers had once entered on their own initiative and with high and hopeful mien. The German immigrants now came to it as hirelings, almost as slaves, humbled and bent, led by taskmasters and under the paternal direction of the government even in the details of their lives. With great humility and with a deep sense of their inferiority to their English masters, as faithful "bounden servants of His Majesty," they drew out their weary lives and constantly measured their strength against poverty and want. Flight from the valley of the Hudson availed them

little, for the English authorities pursued them to the valleys of the Schoharie and the Mohawk and there continued to embitter their lives. But the constant dangers of life in the wilderness developed among them men of leadership like the Weisers, strong spirits capable of breaking the net that had been thrown over them. And when after two decades of American bondage the New York Germans finally gained the right to hold their lands with a sense of security and to enjoy the fruits of their labors, they swung themselves higher and steadily higher to positions of useful and independent citizenship and in the course of time took their places alongside of the best in their province. Their early misfortunes had only delayed the inevitable development of their German culture on American soil.

The German settlements in Pennsylvania, east of the Susquehanna, had preliminaries far less dismal than those antecedent to the German settlements in New York. The conditions under which the Pennsylvania Germans came to our country were not nearly so hopeless for the future, the circumstances under which they settled in the new country were not nearly so humiliating nor so compromising of their personal dignity, as was the case with their countrymen in the neighboring province to the north. Nevertheless the early Germans in eastern Pennsylvania were characterized by great modesty and reserve. They asked only to be left alone. They had no desire to impress themselves upon their neighbors. They seemed to stand in awe of their more numerous and more aggressive English neighbors. Theirs was not the cringing attitude of those who are reduced to dire economic necessity. They were for the most part religious refugees fleeing before

the oppression of intolerant rulers and seeking their inalienable right of freedom to worship God. They devoted themselves diligently to their work and to their worship. But they led a quiet, unobtrusive life, yielding a passive obedience as citizens but allowing others to have charge of public affairs, living at peace with all men and preferring to yield every point rather than to become involved in strife. Their entire bearing in those early years of their life in the New World was not the bearing of aggressive American citizens but that of a people who, for the time at least, seemed to regard themselves as strangers in an Englishman's country.

This attitude of apathy, this lack of aggression on the part of the Germans when they arrived in southeastern Pennsylvania, was not due entirely to the quietistic principles of their religion. It is to be explained also on the ground that the English in those parts could claim priority of settlement and great preponderance of numbers. The English had determined the language of the province and the Germans were regarded as "foreigners" in the land even after they had taken up their abodes in due legal form. The first generation of newcomers naturally did not learn to speak English and this made them the objects of connivance and suspicion not only on the part of their English-speaking neighbors but also on the part of the proprietary authorities. Even the Quaker Assemblymen were persuaded to enact special legislation in the case of these Germans, because they felt that such special measures were necessary to secure the allegiance of the Germans to the British King and to the proprietors of Pennsylvania.[1] After submitting to such measures the Ger-

[1] On September 14, 1727, Governor Gordon called a special meeting of the council to report that large numbers of Palatines were arriving from

mans in those early decades of their American life could not but feel that they were guests in the English colony and that their presence there was largely by sufferance of the English authorities.

Another reason for the unequal position of the Germans among the English in southeastern Pennsylvania during the first half of the eighteenth century is to be found in the extreme poverty in which most of them arrived in this country. Most of the German emigrants had not the means to pay their ocean passage. They were persuaded therefore by the agents of the ship-owners to take transportation on the basis of a contract binding them to a certain period of service (usually from five to seven years) after they should arrive in America. On reaching America these contracts were offered at public sale by the ship-owners and the scenes enacted at the port of landing were often pathetic and revolting and always humiliating to the German colonists in America. Those who thus sold themselves into service were known as "redemptioners." Their fate usually amounted to practical slavery.[2] Comparatively very few of this class of immigrants came from any other country than from Germany. Another class of German immigrants, but less numerous than the redemptioners,

Holland and advised them that "it would be highly necessary to concert proper measures for the peace and security of the province, which may be endangered by such numbers of Strangers daily poured in, who being ignorant of our Language & Laws, and settling in a body together, make, as it were, a distinct people from his Majesties Subjects." One week later the Council approved the oath of allegiance which all of "those Palatines" arriving thereafter were required to sign. Col. Rec., III: 282 f.

[2] The revolting experiences of the redemptioners, both on shipboard and after their arrival in America, are vividly portrayed by Gottlieb Mittelberger in his "Reise nach Pennsylvanien in Jahre 1750" and "Rückreise nach Deutchland im Jahre 1754" (Stuttgart, 1756) and by Heinrich Melchior Mühlenberg in *Die Hallesche Nachrichten,* page 997.

had sold all of their possessions to pay for their transportation. Arriving in this country penniless they would make their way through the inhabited parts of the land, begging as they went, until they reached the borders of civilization where they would settle as squatters.[3] This made a very unfavorable impression upon the early inhabitants of English blood, who enjoyed the utmost personal freedom and a satisfying abundance of this world's goods and who in addition were well provided with leaders. This moving picture of time-serving and poverty-stricken Germans, in groups and in companies, an army without officers,[4] greatly reduced the favorable impression that had been made by the Germantown community under Pastorius. Their resigned attitude and the utter helplessness of their position gradually brought the Germans into the contempt of their English lawgivers and in every measurement they were placed at least one degree lower than those who spoke English. When they finally brought themselves into positions of prominence and equal influence with the English they did so against great odds.

These facts just related furnish the necessary perspective in which to view the York County Germans if we wish to determine their place in the general history of Germans of America and in the development of our national character. For, to this inferior standing of the earliest Germans among their neighbors in their original settlements in New York and in eastern Pennsylvania, the German

[3] It is from these conditions that Charles Sealsfield has drawn his doleful picture of the early Germans in his voluminous works on America and Americans.

[4] Friedrich Kapp in his "Geschichte der Deutschen im Staate New York bis zum Anfange des 19. Jahrhunderts" has said: "Zur Eroberung des neuen Weltteils stellten die Romanen Offiziere ohne Heer, die Deutschen ein Heer ohne Offiziere, die Engländer dagegen ein Heer mit Offizieren."

settlement of York County presents a striking contrast. It marks a new step, one of the first in the Americanization of the Germans in this country.[5] In the settlement of York County we have a stage in the political and cultural evolution of the Germans in our country that was not attained in other German communities until the middle of the eighteenth century or until the Revolutionary War. The first generation in this county occupied a position and influence and manifested an aggressiveness of character that was only attained by the second or even the third generation of their countrymen east of the river. From the beginning of their history York County affairs received their color and their trend from the German element in the county, and from the beginning, too, German customs and peculiarities have shown great tenacity here.

The Germans who first settled in York County belonged to that hardy class of individuals who are not afraid to venture forth even in the face of danger. When they came to this county they placed the broad Susquehanna between themselves and the great body of their countrymen and in many instances they separated themselves by wide stretches of wilderness from the habitations of civilized man. Men of daring and men of brawn they were, determined to stand on their rights and to resist any encroachments upon their liberties. Nearly all of them had spent several years upon American soil and were now beginning life anew. Their experience had been valuable. They had become acclimated to America and inured to the soil of the New World. They had passed the period of strain and stress which always came to every immigrant when he first arrived. Though by no means rich, they had

[5] It was paralleled perhaps by the case of those New York Germans who had fled to the Lebanon Valley.

passed beyond straitened circumstances and had usually accumulated enough to provide their own equipment and a fair degree of comfort. They had not been preceded west of the river by a large number of English-speaking neighbors who could thus lord it over them. The settlements of the English in the northern part of the county and those of the Scotch-Irish in the southeastern part had begun almost simultaneously with their own, certainly not earlier, and these settlements had not grown nearly so rapidly as their own. The Germans were able therefore to make York County predominantly a German county and their life manifested an independence of spirit and a self-reliance that was quite unknown in the incipient stages of other German settlements.

This view is amply substantiated by a scrutiny of their conduct during the early years of their settlement in York County. The difficulties occasioned by the border controversy between the two provinces concerning the lands in the Kreutz Creek Valley furnished abundant opportunity to show the mettle of the Germans who had settled there. They had been invited into those parts as a buffer against the intrusion of Marylanders and they served this purpose well. Their tenacity of purpose and their stout resistance was a matter of no little surprise to those who sought to intrude upon their domain. It cost them many conflicts and not a few real hardships but under the capable leadership of men like Michael Tanner, Henry Hendricks, Christian Croll, and Henry Liphart, they succeeded in maintaining themselves and preserving their allegiance to Pennsylvania until the exact determination of the boundary line settled the whole difficulty. Some of their number had been persuaded or forced to acknowledge the

authority of Maryland for a while but they were quick to observe that the Maryland government discriminated against them in its dealings with its subjects, and their resentment at this, together with other arguments of reason,[6] led them fearlessly to disown the authority of Maryland, to refuse payment of taxes to Maryland agents, and to prepare to stand their ground as citizens of Pennsylvania. In their statements to the governor of Maryland they give unmistakable evidence of their fortitude and determination. In their communication to him under date of August 11, 1736, they protest against being "seduced and made use of, to answer purposes which are unjustifiable."[7] And in a subsequent reply to the governor they firmly declare themselves unwilling to tolerate the "impositions" of the Maryland agents and "the uncommon and cruel usage" to which they had been subjected. They recount their reasons for concluding "upon their own observations" that they are within the rightful bounds of the province of Pennsylvania, and then register an emphatic refusal to act "against the manifest convictions of our consciences."[8] Later they explain their action on the ground that "we believed in our consciences it was our duty."[9] For freedom of conscience they had come to America and

[6] Among these other considerations which weighed with the Germans to convince them that they were within the proper bounds of Pennsylvania was the fact that the Maryland government persistently failed to give them certificates or warrants for their lands, the observation that their own countrymen east of the river were settled may miles farther south than they themselves and had been settled there for twenty-five years under the undisputed jurisdiction of Pennsylvania, and the conclusion that it was impossible for the Susquehanna to be the boundary between the provinces. Col. Rec., IV: 493.

[7] Md. Archives, Vol. 28: 100 f.; also Col. Rec. Pa., IV: 61 f.

[8] Col. Rec., IV: 492 f.

[9] Col. Rec., IV: 75.

freedom of conscience they are now determined to maintain in York County though it be necessary to fight for it. They were accused of having revolted from their allegiance to Maryland because of the influence and persuasion of the agents of Pennsylvania. This they deny very emphatically. They stoutly insist that they have acted solely upon their own initiative and in a special statement they set forth at length that they have taken these measures entirely "of our own mere motion and freewill, without any previous persuasion, threatening or compulsion."[10] And this there is every reason to believe. It was always doubted by the Maryland authorities, but it is substantiated both by direct statements and, what is more, by the clearest of implications on the part of the Pennsylvania authorities.[11]

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] The full and confidential statement of Blunston gives no intimation that he has persuaded them to this action but plainly implies that they have taken the initiative in the matter (Col. Rec., IV: 57), and the personal appeal of the Germans in Philadelphia (Col. Rec., IV: 188 f.) shows their sincerity in their move. Furthermore the unmistakeable implications of several private letters from Blunston allow no reasonable doubt that the Germans proceeded without his instigation. Already on January 2, 1735, almost eighteen months before the Germans actually transferred their allegiance to Pennsylvania, Blunston wrote to the proprietary: "A few days since twelve or fourteen Dutch Inhabitants on the other side opposite to us were here and desired to be admitted to take licence under you. They think they have been imposed upon by the Marylanders and most of Em incline to be Pennsylvanians." Afterwards during the difficulties that followed upon the "revolt of the Germans" there arose between Blunston and Penn a slight difference of opinion as to the policy that ought to be pursued and on January 13, 1737, Blunston wrote to Penn protesting that Penn's letters implied a conviction "that he receiving the Dutch as tenants to this government (who had once been under that of Maryland) was an act of favor to them and not a benefit to your proprietary interest. . . . Now if that be the case I must acknowledge the principles I have acted on have been wrong, for when the Dutch informed me of their inclinations to change I believed it would be for your benefit." This clearly indicates that the Germans had taken the initiative, for if Blunston had tried to

The action of the Germans in refusing to pay taxes to Maryland and in declaring themselves citizens of Pennsylvania called forth retaliatory measures from the Marylanders. They sought to collect taxes from them by force. They harassed and plundered them and threatened them with fire and ejectment. The Germans used peaceful means of defence as long as that course seemed feasible. On one occasion when the Marylanders were seizing the goods of some of the Germans "under pretence of publick Dues" the Germans sent Michael Tanner to remonstrate with them. He went alone and met them "six miles back from the River" and by reasoning with them succeeded in getting them to withdraw under a truce of two weeks.[12]

In the hope of adjusting the difficulties without resorting to force they sent to the Council at Philadelphia and asked that their tracts be laid out in accurate surveys so that they might have clear titles under Pennsylvania.[13] Later they proposed to go in a body to Annapolis and lay their case before the Governor in person, acquainting him with the violence and the inconveniences to which they were exposed by "Higginbotham and his lawless crew," and seeking his intervention for the betterment of their conditions.[14] And they even took measures to apply to the King himself for the redress of their grievances.[15] But neither of these latter proposals seem to have been carried into execution.

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persuade them to disown Maryland and to acknowledge Pennsylvania he would certainly have used this fact as an argument here in this confidential letter. And Penn evidently knew nothing of such efforts to persuade the Germans and even doubted the expediency of receiving them when they had applied.

[12] Col. Rec., IV: 69; also a Blunston letter to Penn of Sept. 8, 1736.

[13] Col. Rec., IV: 70.

[14] Col. Rec., IV: 155.

[15] Col. Rec., IV: 156.

The Germans sought first of all to keep the peace so long as that was possible without doing violence to their consciences, but when peaceful measures did not avail and when they were threatened with attack they did not scruple to employ more strenuous measures of defense.[16] When the governor of Maryland threatens to treat them like rebels and enemies they prepare to defend their homes. They meet force with force. When unable to do this alone they call for constables and assistance from the other side of the river. When Cressap captures one of these constables and is hurrying off with him towards Maryland he is "warmly pursued" and the constable is rescued.[17] When the outrages of the Marylanders continue without abatement they send a delegation of their number to Philadelphia with representations to the provincial council concerning their distresses and praying for aid against the turbulent enemy.[18] When a force of 300 comes from Maryland the provincial government of Pennsylvania takes a hand in the defense but not without the valiant aid of the Germans themselves.[19]

By the beginning of 1737 several of their leaders had been taken captive and the guerilla tactics of the Marylanders had so depleted the numbers of the Germans that the rest of them became terrified and fled across the Susquehanna for safety.[20] In May, 1737, many of them are reported in prison at Annapolis.[21] But meanwhile their stout resistance west of the Susquehanna had permitted the cumbersome negotiations between the two provinces

[16] Col. Rec., IV: 148.
[17] Col. Rec., IV: 58.
[18] Col. Rec., IV: 188 f.
[19] Col. Rec., IV: 63 ff.
[20] Col. Rec., IV: 149.
[21] Vide supra, p. 68, footnote 39.

and between the proprietors in England to take their course without prejudice to Pennsylvania and their service to their state had been rendered even though they were now for a time driven from the field. Another year saw the royal order of 1738 and its temporary conditions afterwards led to the permanent jurisdiction of Pennsylvania over all that disputed region.

The Germans were always encouraged by the Lancaster County authorities and by the provincial council of Pennsylvania[22] and their firm unyielding attitude was appreciated by those authorities. The council sympathized with the Germans in the hardships and distresses to which they were exposed but at the same time they felt that for the Germans to yield to their adversaries and quit their habitations west of the Susquehanna would mean the overthrow of an important principle and might involve serious consequences for the future of the province of Pennsylvania. For when Samuel Blunston raises the question before the council "whether it may be more elegible to order the Removal of all those who are seated under Pennsylvania on the west side of Susquehanna, than to use further Endeavours for their Defence, since it is now apparent these cannot be effectual without coming to Blows," the council sets itself strongly against the suggestion, on the ground that "it is not consistent either with the Honour or Safety of this Province, to remove those of its Inhabitants who are seated within its unquestionable Bounds, since such an Act might be construed a Cession of those parts to Maryland, who would not fail thereupon to take possession of them; and in all probability from such an Encouragement, would endeavour at further Encroachments on this side of the River, in pursuance of their late

[22] *E. g.*, Archives, I: 317; Col. Rec., IV: 195.

exorbitant Claims."[23] It was felt that the honor and authority of the province depended upon the tenacity of the German settlers.[24] This responsibility they discharged by insisting upon recognizing the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania until the crisis of the controversy between the provinces was passed. This function they performed for the history of Pennsylvania not so much out of a consciousness of their mission as out of their native hardiness and aggressiveness of spirit. And these qualities of character were a source of no little gratification to the provincial authorities. For, says James Logan, President of the Council, in a writing to Governor Ogle dated September 18, 1736, in which he speaks of the encroachments and the hostilities west of the river: "This province, especially those parts are filled with people of more spirit than to brook such treatment, and if any mischief ensue on their opposition to your attacks, you cannot but well know who must be accountable for it."[25] Where the poverty-stricken

[23] Col. Rec., IV: 150 f.

[24] Blunston wrote to the proprietary on October 17, 1734, suggesting that the tracts of the Germans be laid out to them and that they be given surveys, and observing: "Tis true the setlers are at present generally poor and unable to pay for their lands (or even the surveys) but we look on them as persons suitable to keep possession." The sentiments of this letter were endorsed by John Wright. The Lancaster County officials evidently appreciated the resoluteness and tenacity of these Germans, and two years later when the forceful conflicts west of the river have begun and when Thomas Penn suggests that some of the Germans be removed, Blunston sets himself against the suggestion and remarks (letter received by Penn on December 1, 1736): "For those who are most in danger by staying are those who are most resolute and active and by whom the rest are directed." The York County Germans evidently did not lack aggressive leaders among their own numbers.

[25] Col. Rec., IV: 78. This sentiment concerning the "spirit" of the Germans was echoed a few months later by the governor and council of Maryland in a communication to the King dated February 18, 1737, in which they say the government of Pennsylvania "was pleased to issue a

squatters would not have ventured in the first place, where the enslaved redemptioners could not have gone, where the Germans of New York would have been compelled to flee, and where the peaceful Mennonites east of the Susquehanna because of their religious convictions would have refused to resort to force, the Germans of York County firmly stood their ground in the maintenance of their rights and in following the dictates of their consciences. Their independence and aggressiveness of spirit is therefore of no small importance in the history of their county and state and in the history of German Americans in general.

Similar qualities of character and disposition are found in prominence also among the early German settlers on Digges's Choice. This is evident from the account of the beginnings of that settlement as given in Chapter IV.[26] These settlers had ventured farther out on the frontier, but in many respects their fortunes, as we have seen, paralleled those of their countrymen in the eastern part of the county. A few references will suffice to indicate the same unquenchable spirit of independence and the same unwillingness to endure imposition.

With keen discernment they conclude from Digges's conduct in refusing to survey the bounds of his tract and from inconsistencies in his utterances, that he cannot make

proclamation under the specious color of preserving peace, but really to inflame and incite the inhabitants of those borders (which that government then acknowledged was filled with people of more than ordinary spirit) to the commission of horrid and cruel violences."

The Lancaster County authorities had had occasion to test this spirit of the Germans. For during the short time that they had acknowledged the jurisdiction of Maryland the German settlers did not scruple to resist the Lancaster County officers when they felt they were being imposed upon. See, for example, the incident of the rescue of John Lochman from Sheriff Buchanan, supra, p. 56; also Col. Rec., IV: 194.

[26] Vide supra, pp. 69–85, for the facts referred to here.

good all of his claims. They coolly plan to have his bounds surveyed on their own account, and this determination they carry into effect despite Digges's opposition. When it thus becomes clear that they had been imposed upon, they proceed to take out warrants under Pennsylvania. Then when their lands are still claimed by Digges under a resurvey, they petition the Pennsylvania authorities for advice how to proceed.[27] A warning from the secretary of the province does not deter Digges from trying to force some of the Germans to pay him for their lands. Then they meet force with force, and drive off the officers that try to carry them to Maryland. They express in no uncertain terms their determination to stand on their defense and to insist upon their rights.[28] Several times they make petition for authoritative adjustment of matters, on the ground that they do not wish to be put in the position of resisting government but that they cannot tolerate the abuses which are being practiced on them.[29] And several instances are on record of strenuous resistance to what they regarded as the injustice of Digges. The dealings of Adam Forney with the Maryland officers and the shooting of Dudley Digges may serve as examples of the tenacity of these Germans in maintaining their rights. Thus they manifest much the same stern qualities of character which their countrymen in the Kreutz Creek Valley manifested, though, of course, with less vital consequences for the future of the province.

[27] Archives, I: 680 f. and 683. "The people hope that Your Honor [*i. e.*, the governor] will direct inquiries to me made into the true state of this matter and give them your directions for their behavior with Mr. Digges."

[28] Vide supra, p. 83 f.

[29] "For we are no people that are willing to Resist government, but rather to semit, if we do but know how, and whare; and further Beg you would advise us how to behave most safely in the main Time." Archives, I: 724.

Another characteristic of the early Germans in York County is worthy of note in this connection. It was one that they shared with all of the early Germans in this country with the possible exception of the Germantown settlement. They were at a great disadvantage, both socially and politically, because they could not speak the English language. For while the provincial authorities of Maryland recognized the Germans of our county as a resolute, determined people whose resistance it was almost impossible for them to break, and while the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania recognized those hardy Germans as a very fit element with which to withstand the encroachments of the Marylanders, nevertheless there is unmistakable evidence that on both sides of the line those who made the laws and enforced them looked down upon these Germans with a certain degree of contempt and disdain. The records of the unhappy incidents growing out of the boundary dispute between the provinces indicate very clearly that the spirit of nativism was already at work in that early day and that the Germans were regarded as "ignorant and unfortunate Dutchman," the helpless victims of circumstances and suitable objects for the commiseration of their English-speaking superiors.

In a deposition of December 2, 1736, John Starr relates an interview that he had with the governor of Maryland a few months previous in the course of which "the Governor said that there were some Unfortunate Dutch Men that had lately Apply'd themselves to him for those Lands, & that he went there & Settled them, & and that he condoled the Misfortune of the sd Dutch Men for declining to be Subject to the Government of Maryland, & turning to the Proprietors of Pennsylvania, And that the sd Dutch

Men had Revolted through Ignorance or Perswasion, And that the Governor further said that if the sd Dutch Men did not Return again to the Government of Maryland he would not Suffer them to Live on those Lands any Longer. . . ."[30] This was evidently the general attitude of the Marylanders towards the Germans. For ten days later Edmund Jennings and Daniel Dulaney, the two Maryland commissioners who had come to Philadelphia to treat with the Pennsylvania council concerning the troubles west of the Susquehanna, in the course of a lengthy communication to Logan and his council observe concerning the Germans: "they must certainly be ignorant Forreigners or they would never have been so far deluded as to imagine it to be in their power to divest the Lord Proprietary of Maryland of whom they received their possessions, of the Rents and Services due from them as Tenants."[31] And in the communication of the Maryland authorities to the King on February 18, 1737, they declare that they have exercised "the utmost care to disabuse these deluded people," and that "this government might reasonably conclude these unfortunate people had been privately encouraged by some persons daring enough to protect them against any prosecution."[32]

Much the same attitude of lofty superiority towards the Germans was held by their fellow-citizens in Lancaster and Philadelphia, though without the element of bitterness which naturally entered into the feelings of the Marylanders. When in August, 1736, they decided to renounce the authority of Maryland in the Kreutz Creek

[30] Archives, I: 509.
[31] Col. Rec., IV: 132.
[32] Md. Archives, for 1736.

Valley and to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Pennsylvania in those parts, they sent several representatives to state their case to Samuel Blunston and to ask his advice. Shortly thereafter Blunston reported the matter in person to the provincial council at Philadelphia and in explanation of their conduct stated that they were "ignorant people who had been seduced, and now being sensible of it, were desirous to return and live under our proprietor who alone they believed could truly be their landlord." He said that he "told them, since it was their ignorance, and the false information of others, and not malice by which they had been misled, they need not doubt but they would be received and treated as the other inhabitants."[33] A few weeks later the Pennsylvania council in a letter to Governor Ogle of Maryland remarked concerning the "natural Honesty and Simplicity" of "those Palatines" and then added: "they have been made Sufferers by their Weakness and Credulity in believeing those busie Emissaries."[34] Repeatedly they are referred to by the council simply as "those poor people."[35] And on one occasion the council wrote of them as "those poor ignorant foreigners who had transported themselves from Germany into Pennsylvania."[36]

In a petition to the King, dated December 11, 1736, the Pennsylvania council charged Cressap with having persuaded "some innocent German people lately come into Pennsylvania, who were ignorant of our Language and Constitution" to take possession of Lancaster County lands under Maryland jurisdiction, and in the same docu-

[33] Col. Rec., IV: 57.
[34] Col. Rec., IV: 77.
[35] *E. g.*, Col. Rec., IV: 114, 122.
[36] Col. Rec., IV: 122.

ment these Germans are referred to as "the miserable people."[37]

It would appear then that the "misfortunes" of these "poor Dutchmen" were due primarily to their "ignorance" (they themselves called it "want of better information") and this in turn was due to their lack of familiarity with the English language.[38] This ignorance made them susceptible to plausible pretences and the objects of wilful machinations. Their ignorance of the language of the government had led the government authorities to take special precautions to secure their allegiance. Hence the oath of allegiance to which they were obliged to subscribe upon landing at the port of Philadelphia. When in the course of the negotiations concerning the difficulties in the Kreutz Creek Valley the Maryland commissioners protested against these previous "engagements of Fidelity to the Proprietor of Pennsylvania"[39] the Council of Pennsylvania made reply:

The Germans who yearly arrive here in great numbers, wholly ignorant of the English Language & Constitution, are obliged, on

[37] Col. Rec., 126 f.

[38] In all their negotiations with the authorities in those first few years of their settlement in York County, their leader and spokesman was Michael Tanner. He was a young man, had been associated with the English at Parnell's in 1728, and certainly was better acquainted with the language of the government than most of his countrymen. This quality alone was sufficient to make him one of their chief leaders.

The Germans as a rule employed an interpreter in their dealings with the authorities. As late as 1747 before the Provincial Council in Philadelphia, "Nicholas Perie desired that as he was a German & did not understand the English Language, that he might be permitted to speak by an interpreter" and received the assistance of "Mr. Christian Grasshold, who is usually employed in this Service by the Germans." The "incivility of his Language" was excused on the ground that "it was owing to his Ignorance of the English Language." Col. Rec., V: 218 f.

[39] Col. Rec., IV: 132.

Account of our too near northern Neighbors, the French, whose Language many of them understand, not only to swear Allegiance to our Sovereign, but as a farther Tie upon them they promised Fidelity to our Proprietors & this Government, a Practice only used with them & no others.[40]

Their chief offense therefore seems to have been in the fact that they could not speak English immediately upon their arrival from Germany, and that some of them knew somewhat of French.

Very similar was the attitude towards the Germans in the southwestern part of the county. In 1747, when Adam Forney was arrested on Digges's Choice by a Baltimore County sheriff,[41] the correspondence indicates that the secretary of Pennsylvania, Richard Peters, after a personal examination of Forney, is not a little fearful that the witnesses who will attend the Annapolis court will be unable to make themselves understood. He writes to Thomas Cookson, surveyor of Lancaster County, that the witnesses who are to accompany Forney to his trial must be able to testify "in a clear, positive manner, and therefore they must be sensible people, and people who know Digges' tract well, and Adam Furney's house, and can give a satisfactory account of things, so that the Court may understand them. I must, therefore, beg of you to attend Adam Furney in finding out such persons, and examine them yourself and be satisfied that they will answer the purpose effectually by giving a plain evidence."[42] The difficulty, it would seem, was to get persons as witnesses who would be able to speak English well enough to be understood in Maryland. For, a few days

[40] Col. Rec., IV: 138.

[41] Supra, page 83.

[42] Archives, I: 728.

later Cookson replies to Peters that he has now had opportunity to examine certain citizens from Forney's general neighborhood. "They are clear, intelligible men, and speak English well." This leads Cookson to a different conclusion from that which had been reached upon examining Forney himself.[43] Whereupon Peters writes to Annapolis and dismisses the counsel he had retained for Forney's case and says: "Mr. Cookson had examination of some sensible people in Furney's neighborhood."[44] The inference is that Forney was not sensible, clear or intelligent. This was because of his lack of facility with the English language, a fact that is very manifest from his own letter to Cookson on this occasion.[45] This correspondence, therefore, is one instance of several which show that the Germans were often regarded by the government officials and by their English-speaking neighbors as unintelligent and unreasonable, simply because they were unskilled in English.

The Governor of Maryland had thought that "the Dutch Men had revolted through Ignorance or Perswasion." But the clear logical arguments which they put forth in support of their action, and their emphatic disavowal of outside persuasion, showed that they were not so ignorant or so easily persuaded as the governor had supposed. And the subsequent determination of the boundary by the highest authorities completely vindicated them in this action. The governor had spoken of them as "unfortunate Dutch Men" whose misfortunes he con-

[43] "Let Adam Forney defend his own Cause, since he has entirely misrepresented the situation of the place where he was arrested." Archives, I: 731.

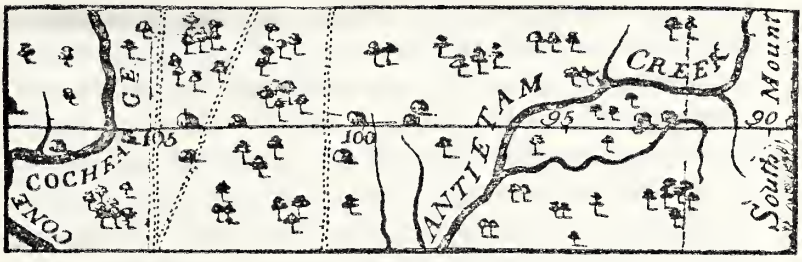
[44] *Ibid.*

[45] Archives, I: 725.

doled. But the decision of conduct and the tenacity of purpose which they manifested in the course of the controversy, as well as the outcome of the whole difficulty, showed that his commiseration was quite superfluous.

The conditions imposed upon them by their pioneer life and their critical position in the conflict between the two provinces, together with the fact that they did not as a class speak the language of the governments under which they lived, naturally tended to diminish the respect in which they were held by those in the distance who were more comfortably established. But their "natural honesty and simplicity" and the fortitude and hardiness which they manifested in their difficult circumstances did not fail of appreciation, and those who knew these Germans well did not regard them as helpless creatures and objects of pity. For in their own county they have from the beginning been the most important single racial factor, politically, socially, and industrially.





CHAPTER VII.

The Limestone Soil.

IN setting forth the original settlement of the primitive soil in this country and the subsequent readjustment of communities the effort is not infrequently made to show a relation between the preponderating nationality of a given settlement and the geological formation of its soil. The attempt has sometimes been made to indicate that such a general relationship applies to the German farmers of the eighteenth century. Thus it has occasionally been asserted in a general way that the Germans who came to this country before the Revolution regularly settled on limestone soil. Professor Faust says that when we study on a map the location of the Germans in America before the Revolution we are impressed with the fact that "the Germans were in possession of most of the best land for farming purposes. They had cultivated the great limestone areas reaching from northeast to southwest, the most fertile land in the colonies. The middle sections of Pennsylvania were in their possession, those which became the granaries of the colonies in the coming Revolutionary War, and subsequently the foundation of the financial

prosperity of the new nation."[1] This tendency to settle a particular kind of soil, he says, was manifest among the Germans in other colonies as well as in Pennsylvania. "They continued to settle in limestone areas in every new territory, as for instance in Kentucky, where they entered the Blue-Grass Region in very large numbers during and immediately after the Revolutionary War. It is an interesting experiment to examine the geological maps of the counties in Pennsylvania where there were both German and Irish settlers, such as Berks or Lancaster counties. The Germans are most numerous where the limestone appears, while the Irish are settled on the slate formations. This phenomenon is repeated so often that it might create the impression that the early settlers had some knowledge of geology."[2]

Professor F. J. Turner is a little more specific when he says: "The limestone areas in a geological map of Pennsylvania would serve as a map of the German settlements. First they filled the Limestone Island adjacent to Philadelphia, in Lancaster and Berks counties; then they crossed the Blue Ridge into the Great Valley, floored with limestone. This valley is marked by the cities of Easton, Bethlehem, Allentown, Reading, Harrisburg, etc. Following it towards the southwest along the trough between the hills, they crossed the Potomac into Central Maryland and by 1732 following the same formation they began to occupy the Shenandoah Valley in Virginia."[3] "The

[1] "The German Element in the United States," Vol. I, p. 265.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 34.

[3] "Studies of American Immigration," by Frederick Jackson Turner, in the *Record-Herald's* "Current Topics Club," *Record-Herald,* Chicago, August 28 and September 4, 1901, "German Immigration in the Colonial Period." Cited in Faust, Vol. I, p. 138.

limestone farms of the [Pennsylvania] Germans became the wheat granaries of the country."[4]

Another keen observer of conditions among the Pennsylvania Germans, Professor Oscar Kuhns, testifies to this same general fact. "The best soil in Pennsylvania for farming purposes is limestone, and it is a significant fact that almost every acre of this soil is in possession of German farmers. . . . It is due to the fact that Lancaster County is especially rich in limestone soil and is largely inhabited by Mennonites that it has become the richest farming county in the United States."[5] This author also cites in this connection the statement of the late Eckley B. Coxe that a letter from Bethlehem written to his grandfather asserts that in Pennsylvania, if you are on limestone soil, you can open your mouth in the Pennsylvania Dutch dialect and you will always be understood.[6]

Still another writer points out this same general fact and shows its effect upon the Lutheran Church in the United States. Dr. Sylvanus Stall in an article on "The Relation of the Lutheran Church in the United States to the Limestone Districts,"[7] shows how the Germans who

[4] Faust, Vol. II, p. 34.

[5] "German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania," p. 86 f.

[6] Sometimes this observation that the Germans followed certain natural features of the country is expressed in terms of timber rather than in terms of soil. Then the comment is that the Germans selected districts that are heavily wooded. Mrs. Kate Asaphine Everest Levi, in "How Wisconsin Came by Its Large German Element" (1892), p. 17, says: "Thus the Germans are seen to be massed in the eastern and north central counties, a position that corresponds markedly with that of the heavily-wooded districts; they have shown their preference first for the wooded lands near the main routes to travel, namely the eastern counties, and from there have spread to the north central parts of the State into the deeper forests."

[7] *Lutheran Quarterly,* Vol. XIII, 1883, pp. 509 ff.

had been placed at Newburgh on the west bank of the Hudson in 1708 were dissatisfied with the soil there and gradually migrated to the limestone districts of that state. He also shows how the Palatine refugees whom the English government had located on the east bank of the Hudson in 1710, speedily removed to the Schoharie and Mohawk valleys with their clear water and their limestone rock. "When the migrations of this colony of Germans who constituted the beginnings of the Lutheran Church in the state of New York are followed, it will be found that when they moved in any considerable numbers their eventual settlement was upon the choicest lands, and when uncontrolled by foreign circumstances, it was upon limestone bottom. The same is true in Pennsylvania. . . . These tendencies of the earlier immigrants are to be found not only in Lancaster County, but are clearly defined in the broad limestone belt which sweeps across the State, including in its area the cities of Easton, Allentown, Reading, Lebanon, Lancaster, York and Harrisburg. The influences may alike be followed in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and other States, and may account in a large measure for the absence of Lutheran congregations in New England."

Now these general statements concerning the preferences of the Germans for the limestone soil have never been verified by more exact determination. They are, however, confirmed in a remarkable way by the location and distribution of the Germans in York County. A study of the German settlements in this county in their relation to the geology of the county and in their relation to other nationalities, reveals the fact that ethnologically York County is an epitome of the country at large. The relations of the Germans in our county serve to bear out the

general observations noted above concerning the Germans in other parts of Pennsylvania and in other states of the union.

The geological map of York County furnishes an interesting analogy to the geological map of the whole United States.[8] Each of the five great areas of geological time has its representatives within the borders of our county and they occur in much the same order and the same manner of contact in which they occur in the country at large. We have in this small compass parts of the ocean bottoms that were formed during each of the five geological ages. The general trend of the formations is from northeast to southwest. They are, in a general way, the continuation of the geological plains of Lancaster County and in their turn they merge into the formations in Adams County and Maryland. A brief survey of the geology and topography of the county is necessary to an understanding of the early German settlements in their relation to the soil and to other nationalities.

The oldest part of the county belongs to the Eozoic period. It constitutes a broad belt in the southern part of the county. Its southeastern boundary is on a line with the last course of the Muddy Creek. Its northwestern boundary lies approximately on a line beginning at the southeastern extremity of Lower Windsor Township ex-

[8] Professor Persifor Frazer (professor of chemistry, Franklin Institute, Philadelphia) who supervised the Second U. S. Geological Survey of York County, says, "In a rough and general way, York County is a partial imitation, on a very small scale, of the United States; inasmuch as, like that part of the American continent, it consists of a belt of Archæan rocks in the northwest, of another in the southeast, and its intermediate portions are made up of newer formations containing fossils." And this analogy he carries into great detail. Vide Gibson's "History of York County," p. 463.

tending thence westward, passing north of Windsor Post Office and then due southwestward between Dallastown and Red Lion, through the center of Glen Rock and north of Black Rock. It thus includes all of Upper Chanceford, Lower Chanceford, Hopewell, Fawn and Shrewsbury Townships, the western part of Peach Bottom Township, and parts of Windsor, Lower Windsor, Springfield, Codorus and Manheim Townships. This part of the county constitutes the geological floor upon which the other parts were laid.

These Eozoic rocks are destitute of valuable minerals in York County but the soil formed from them is comparatively fertile, second only to the fertility of the limestone soil. Its composition is generally slaty. It is capable of sustaining heavy timber growths and contains at present large woods of strong trees. When the earliest settlers came to the county there were large tracts in the southeastern part that were bare of all timber. This is accounted for by the Indian custom of burning the trees and other vegetation in certain sections either for the purpose of increasing the facilities of hunting or to provide land for the cultivation of beans and corn.[9] This Eozoic belt of the county has received in history the uncomplimentary title of "The Barrens." This was not due to the character of the soil but to the absence of trees in the early days and to the methods of agriculture afterwards employed there.[10] The earliest settlers who took up their abodes on

[9] Carter and Glossbrenner say that this was done to provide hunting grounds, but it seems more probable that these bare spaces in York County may be accounted for by the general observation of William Penn, "There are also many open places that have been old Indian fields." In a letter written to the Duke of Ormunde in 1683, quoted from Egle's "Notes and Queries" by Swank, "Progressive Pennsylvania," p. 76.

[10] Philemon Lloyd says in his letter of October 8, 1722, "But from the

this belt were unskilled in the art of agriculture and in the proper rotation of crops. They would select a tract of land and put out their crops but by unwise methods of culture would soon drain the soil of its substance. When one tract was exhausted they would desert it and move on to new tracts. Thus in the course of time there came to be a number of tracts in this region that were deserted on account of their sterility. Thus was perpetuated the name of "Barrens," a name that is quite at variance with the present flourishing condition of the soil brought about by the importation of wiser methods of cultivation.[11]

The next oldest geological formation in the county is found just north of the Eozoic belt. This belongs to the Cambrian period of the Paleozoic era. It is only about three fourths as wide as the Eozoic belt, but stretching as it does across the central part of the county it has a much greater length than the older belt and embraces a larger area in the county. Its northern boundary begins at the southern mouth of the Conewago Creek and extends with

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Heads of Patapsco, Gunpowder, & Bush Rivers, over to Monockasey is a Vast Body of Barrens; that is, what is called so, because there is no wood upon it, besides Vast Quantities of Rockey Barrens." Calvert Papers, No. 2, p. 56.

[11] Christoph Daniel Ebeling in his "Erdbeschreibung und Geschichte von America," Vol. 4, 1797, p. 681, speaking of York County, says, "Das Land ist ziemlich angebaut, und man rechnete vor einigen Jahren schon, dass an drei Viertel desselben von Pflanzern besezt waren. Allein ihre Besitzungen sind lange nicht alle urbar gemacht, sondern viele davon noch mit dicken Waldungen besezt. Jedoch treiben viele, sonderlich die Deutschen, guten Kornbau, haben grosse Obstgärten mit Aepfeln, Pfirsichen, etc. und weitläufige Wiesen mit Timotheusgras etc., zum Theil auch etwas Kleebau. Hopfengärten giebt es gleichfals hie und da. Die Ackerpferde, welche hier fallen, werden wegen ihrer Stärke und Grösse geschätzt." These efficient methods of the Germans afterwards spread to other nationalities in the County and helped to abolish the wasteful conditions and inefficient methods of which Ebeling writes.

much irregularity in a general southwesterly direction to Abbotstown just beyond the Adams County line. It thus embraces the whole of Hellam, Spring Garden, North Codorus, Heidelberg, Penn, and West Manheim Townships, and most of Manchester, West Manchester, Jackson, Paradise, Lower Windsor, Windsor, York, Springfield, Codorus, and Manheim Townships. It also includes Conewago and Union Townships in the southeastern part of Adams County. This kind of rock is also found on the southern side of the Eozoic floor and covers a large part of Peach Bottom Township.[12]

This Cambrian belt consists of four fairly distinct layers of rocks. The oldest of these are the chlorite schists, composing about one third of the entire belt and stretching along the southern portion of the area. Next in order is the Hellam quartzite, found chiefly in the township of that name but with outcroppings at many other places in this belt. Then come the hydro-mica schists, or limestone schists as they are sometimes called. These occupy in general the central and northern portion of the belt and encase the fourth and most recent layer which is the narrow ribbon of limestone stretching across the entire length of the Cambrian belt.

The presence of the Hellam quartzite lends an undulating effect to the landscape here. For the quartzite is very hard and enduring in composition. It undergoes but little decomposition either through chemical or mechanical action. Thus the less durable rocks, the argillites and the

[12] This rock in the southeastern extremity of our county is the source of the celebrated Peach Bottom roofing slate. This economic value of the Cambrian rock as found in this Township grows out of the fact that it occurs there with a fine grain, an even texture, and an almost perfect cleavage.

calcites, are disintegrated and carried away, leaving the quartzite outstanding in the form of hills. But the most important part of the Cambrian belt, so far as the history of the county is concerned, is the limestone formation. This is but a continuation west of the Susquehanna of that limestone formation which constitutes the major portion of Lancaster County. It is a comparatively narrow strip and extends continuously across the center of the county and into the southeastern corner of Adams County. The tract embracing the pure limestone soil is not more than two miles wide on an average, though at a few points it reaches a width of four miles. It begins at the mouth of the Kreutz Creek on the Susquehanna and extends along the whole length of that creek from the town of Wrightsville to the city of York. From York there is a narrow extension northeastward along the Codorus to its mouth, and one directly west among the sources of the Little Conewago. But the general direction of the limestone strip continues from York southwestward up the valley of the West Branch of the Codorus Creek and including Hanover, McSherrystown and Littlestown. An isolated tract of this formation also occurs at the mouth of Cabin Branch in Lower Windsor Township.

This limestone is a dolomitic composition containing varying amounts of carbonate of magnesia. It is popularly known as the "York limestone." Some of it is so hard as to furnish excellent building material. But most of it decomposes and mingles with the soil. Thus it has produced the most fertile soil in the county and, together with the related soil that was formed from the neighboring schists, it constitutes the richest farming area in the county, not unlike that of Lancaster County east of the river. It

is well watered and the rolling contour of the ground makes it exceptionally well adapted to agricultural purposes. When the first settlers came to the county these limestone hills and valleys were covered with heavy timber, and under wise methods of culture the soil has continued highly productive ever since, and this belt has always been the scene of the county's chief industry and activity.

A third main geological division of York County embraces practically the entire northern part of the county. This belongs to the Triassic period of the Mesozoic era. It is very sharply defined from the Cambrian belt just south of it. It is that same red sandstone formation which begins in the extreme northern part of Lancaster County and covers nearly all of Adams County on the west. The line of demarcation from the Paleozoic era is quite clear and distinct because there are no traces whatever of the Silurian, the Devonian, or the Carboniferous periods of that era. The soil of this region differs widely from that of the other parts of the county. It is composed primarily of beds of red shale, red sandstone, and quartzite conglomerate. Extensive areas of trap also occur, and this is practically identical with the so-called "Gettysburg Granite" in Adams County. This material offers strong resistance to disintegrating forces and this has produced a number of elevated ridges and hills in this part of the county. It is also the geological cause of the bothersome falls in the Susquehanna near York Haven. Everywhere traces of iron abound, and it is this that gives the soil of the region its characteristically red color. On the rocks in this region occasionally occur deceptive stains of green and blue carbonates of copper. These were doubtless the cause of those nervous and illusive searches, surveys, and

mining shafts, made by Sir William Keith and the Maryland adventurers in the hope of obtaining copper or some other valuable metal. There are many evidences of brownstone in this Triassic region of somewhat the same quality as the celebrated Hummelstown variety, but it has not yet been discovered west of the river in sufficient quantities to give it commercial value. Farming has always been the chief industry in this part of the county as in the other parts, although from the above description of the geology it must be clear that the soil here is not nearly so well adapted to agriculture as in other parts of the county.[13]

These are the three main geological divisions of our county. If now we examine the nationality of the earliest settlers in the county we find that they are three in number and that each one of them gravitated strongly towards one of the three general kinds of soil furnished by the geological divisions. Germans, Scotch-Irish, and English crossed the Susquehanna in rapid succession and settled within the limits of York County in the fourth and fifth decades of the eighteenth century. Of these the Scotch-Irish took up their abodes on the Eozoic belt in the southeastern part of the county where the ground required little clearing and where the soil was ready to produce at once. The Germans laid out their plantations on or near the limestone ribbon of the Cambrian belt in the central part of the county with its heavy timber, its rolling hills and its many streams. While the English Quakers chose to settle the Triassic region in the northeastern part of the county with its secluded lands, its red soil, and its mining prospects.

[13] To complete our outline of the geology of the county it should be mentioned that the Cenozoic era is represented in the county principally by the marl bed north of Dillsburg in Carroll Township. Thus the great eras of geology are all present in some form or other.

These choices were not promiscuous. But we are concerned here only to establish in detail the correctness of the statement concerning the Germans, and to indicate its probable causes and its results.

In the absence of individual surveys for the plantations of the earliest Germans in the county we are left to inference and general statements to show where they were. But these are so many and so varied as to permit a high degree of accuracy in locating the early German settlements upon the map. The very name of the Kreutz Creek Settlement indicates its general location. And the Kreutz Creek Valley, as we have seen, belongs entirely to the Cambrian belt and is composed almost exclusively of pure limestone soil. The pioneer plantation of this settlement was that of John Hendricks. He occupied a part of that 1,200-acre tract which was marked off for the younger William Penn in July, 1727, and surveyed in November, 1729. The whole tract is described in the warrant as "opposite to Hempfield," that is, due west of the town of Lancaster. Hendricks's part of this tract embraced 600 acres and it is described by the surveyor as "the uper side and best part of the tract." The lower part, *i. e.*, the part nearest to the mouth of the Kreutz Creek, was occupied several years later by James Wright, son of John Wright. This embraced the landing-place of Wright's Ferry, the heart of the present town of Wrightsville. The entire tract therefore lay just north of the future "Monocacy Road,"[14] the present turnpike from Wrightsville to York, and Hendricks's 600 acres on the upper part of the tract was therefore but a short distance north of Wright's

[14] This road is described as beginning between the lands of James Wright and Samuel Tayler on the west bank of the Susquehanna immediately opposite the plantations of John Wright. Vide supra, p. 89.

Ferry and embraced the plantation from which the squatter John Grist was compelled to remove in 1721.[15] This is entirely within the limestone ribbon, as a reference to the geological map shows.

The other plantations in the Kreutz Creek Settlement are determined chiefly with reference to the Hendricks plantation. Michael Tanner, we have seen, was settled on a tract of 200 acres six miles southwest of John Hendricks.[16] He had previously been seated for a short time near the mouth of Cabin Branch, which is also limestone soil, but from this location he was obliged to remove in 1728 together with several English squatters there. In 1734, however, he took up his permanent abode on the limestone of the Kreutz Creek. Among his immediate neighbors were Conrad Strickler, Henry Bacon (Bann or Bahn), and Jacob Welshover. With these persons Tanner was engaged in burying another neighbor's child when they were all taken captive by the Marylanders. Another close neighbor of Tanner was John Lochman who said that his house was seven miles west of Hendricks, about two miles south of the "little Codorus" and within 100 yards of the main road through the valley. About one and one half miles east of Lochman along the main road lived the blacksmith, Peter Gardner. Farther east in the same limestone valley and on both sides of the road were the dwellings of Bernard Wiemar, Michael Reisher, Christian Croll, Francis Clapsaddle, Nicholas Kuhns,

[15] The exact location of Grist's improvements is fixed by the two drafts mentioned, supra, p. 22. Blunston's letter of January 2, 1737 (Archives, I: 319), says: "I suppose you know Hendrix's House stands just by John Wright's."

[16] Vide supra, p. 57, and Archives, I: 524.

Valentine Kroh, and Martin Schultz.[17] Samuel Landis, the German shoemaker, had his shop on the Kreutz Creek.[18] This valley was also the home of the other Germans in that first settlement. It is not possible now to locate precisely the individual claims of each one of the 50 or 60 German planters who settled in this part of the county before 1737, but it is clear that they lay in the same general valley with those we have already fixed. For Michael Tanner in his solemn affirmation declares that in 1734 and 1735 Thomas Cressap "came into the neighborhood of this Affirmant and Surveyed upwards of forty tracts of Land for this Affirmants Countrymen, the Germans living in those Parts."[19] This same idea is expressed or implied in a number of other depositions and documents relating to the border difficulties. The Germans who signed the papers to the governor of Maryland and to the council of Pennsylvania in August, 1736, spoke of one another as "neighbors." Their place of assembling in self-defense was John Hendricks's house at the foot of their valley. They regularly referred to their individual plantations as lying southwest of John Hendricks. The Marylanders in their attacks upon the Germans never met any opposition nor found any victims until they had come into the immediate neighborhood of the Kreutz Creek,

[17] Vide supra, p. 65. When John Powell, under-sheriff of Lancaster County, affirms that these men lived "on the West side of the Sasquehannah River, not above one Mile to the Southward of the house of John Hendricks" (Col. Rec., III: 613), he evidently does not mean to say that they all lived within one mile's distance of Hendricks's house, but merely that they were within the undoubted bounds of Pennsylvania because they all lived north of a line passing east and west through a point one mile south of Hendricks's house. Thus they lived in the valley just north of the Kreutz Creek.

[18] According to Carter and Glossbrenner, vide supra, p. 39.

[19] Archives, I: 525.

and they never proceeded farther north than that valley. The Springettsbury Manor, whose bounds were relocated in 1762 by means of the German plantations, lay wholly within the Cambrian belt spreading a short distance on each side of the limestone ribbon in the Kreutz Creek Valley. And at the judicial investigation in 1824 evidence was presented proving that in 1736 at least 52 Germans had settled on that area in a regular manner. There can be no doubt therefore that most of the original German settlers in the eastern part of the county were located on the pure limestone just north of the Kreutz Creek, that the rest of them were settled on the fertile soil of the adjacent limestone schists, and that practically all of them, if indeed we may not say all of them without exception, were seated within the Cambrian belt.

The same kind of soil continues to be the abode of the Germans as we follow their settlements westward across the county. The settlement which had gathered on the Codorus about the future site of York,[20] occupied the limestone strip at its place of greatest breadth. Here the limestone valley of the Codorus meets the prolongation of the Kreutz Creek Valley and the combination produces an unusually favorable location for a flourishing farming community. This region therefore supports the densest population in the county and the original German settlement here flourished from the beginning.

Among the most prominent families in the early history of this settlement on the Codorus were the Spanglers. About 1730 Caspar Spangler settled 711 acres about a mile and a half east of the Codorus and extending across the future Monocacy Road but lying chiefly north of that

[20] Vide supra, p. 90.

road.[21] His brother Baltzer arrived in the community in 1732 and took up 200 acres about a mile east of the Codorus somewhat to the south of Caspar's land about the spot where the present Plank Road intersects with the first run.[22] Contiguous to this was the abode of Tobias Frey. About a mile north of Tobias Frey was the land of his father Martin Frey, who had settled there in 1734 and whose property is now embraced in the northeastern part of the city.[23] Before 1738, Caspar Spangler's sons, Jonas and Rudolph, settled upon a tract of 719 acres seven miles west of the Codorus "near the Little Conewago Creek on the Conogocheague Road," now the York and Gettysburg turnpike. This was a part of the westward extension of the limestone ribbon, which forms as it were an offshoot from the main southwestward direction, and which contains many of the large springs that supply the sources of the Conewago. Another settler in this community and "near Codorus Creek" was Frederick Ebert, whose lands were in 1736 possessed by Valentine Schultz. About three miles northwest of the present site of York

[21] Edward W. Spangler, Esq., describes this land as follows: "seven hundred and eleven acres of limestone land about one and a half miles east of that portion of the banks of the 'Katores' on which Yorktown was thirteen years later laid out. The plantation began at the northern range of hills and extended across what was later designated as the 'Great Road leading from York-town to Lancaster.' . . . A deed for 385 acres thereof was executed by Thomas Penn to Caspar Spengler October 30, 1736. . . . The southern portion, bisected by the 'Great Road,' was conducted by Caspar in conjunction with his youngest son Philip Caspar Spengler." "The Spengler Families with Local Historical Sketches," p. 18.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[23] This land was afterwards owned in turn by Isaac Rondebush (1741), Michael Schwack (1741), and Bartholemew Maul, the schoolmaster (1743). By 1750 Hermanus Bott, one of the earliest lot-owners in York, also possessed about 300 acres on the west bank of the Codorus adjoining the town on the northwest. Gibson, p. 514.

lay the adjoining lands of Michael Walck and Martin Bauer, and about five miles southwest of the town were the properties of George and Jacob Ziegler.[24] From this point the German plantations stretched off northeastward down the Codorus Valley and southwestward up the valley of the west branch of the Codorus, and these limestone bottoms were the main support of the town of York during its early years.

Precisely the same rule obtains with reference to the German settlements on Digges's Choice in the southwestern part of the county. This tract was chiefly limestone soil and it was settled chiefly by the Germans. From the definition of Digges's Choice already given[25] and by reference to the geological maps of York and Adams Counties it will be observed that these 10,000 acres lay wholly within the Cambrian belt and almost wholly on the limestone ribbon, embracing all of its southwestern extremity. About six miles of the end of this strip was cut off from York County when Adams County was erected in 1800, and thus a few of the original plantations now fall within the bounds of Adams County. But this fact only serves to impress upon the historian the regularity with which the Germans settled upon the limestone, for this southeastern extremity of Adams County is the only limestone soil in the whole county and to this day is the only German community in the county. The limestone ribbon across York County reaches a greater width on Digges's Choice, the present neighborhood of Hanover, than at any other point except where it crosses the Codorus, the present site of York. And the farms adjacent to

[24] Vide Map *F*, Report of Secretary of Internal Affairs of Pennsylvania, 1905, Part I.

[25] Supra, p. 70.

Hanover are among the most beautiful and prosperous in the county.

Adam Forney, the first German settler in this settlement, located his claim on the present site of Hanover. Andrew Schreiber soon thereafter settled near what is now Christ Church, about four miles southwest of Hanover. This is also on pure limestone soil, though now in Adams County. The German neighbors of these two pioneers located on the fertile lands between them and just north of them. Digges's original survey of 6,822 acres extended four miles north of the temporary line of 1738 and included the present site of Hanover. His addition of 3,679 acres adjoined his original survey on its north side and was situated therefore wholly on the limestone formation, as a reference to the geological map will indicate. This inviting soil was the disputed land and on this area lay the plantations of most of those whom we have learned to know as the earliest settlers of Digges's Choice.

From the recorded incidents in the early history of this settlement it is clear that Adam Forney's land lay within Digges's original survey and just south of his addition, that Schreiber's land and that of his neighbors from Philadelphia County also lay within Digges's first survey and that Martin Kitzmiller, John Lemon, Nicholas Forney, Matthias Ulrich and practically all the other Germans whose names are mentioned in the course of the disturbances, were settled upon Digges's additional survey on soil contiguous to his original survey. Their location there was the reason why they were involved in disturbance and why their names are preserved for us. The Germans had been induced to begin their immigration into this community partly by the personal persuasions of Digges and

his agents. But the location of their individual tracts they determined for themselves. They invariably located on the limestone bottom. Digges's misfortune, therefore, lay in the fact that he had not at once included in his original survey all the limestone soil in that neighborhood. For this German settlement on the Conewago would have been spared many years of strife and contention if the bounds of Digges's Choice had coincided throughout with the limestone belt.

There is therefore a remarkable coincidence between the location of the early German settlers in the county and the length and breadth of the limestone ribbon that runs across the county. In the few instances where the German plantations did not perhaps lie directly on the pure limestone soil, they coincided with the nearby limestone schists or hydro-micas, also a part of the Cambrian belt. From this the original home of the German element in York County it has since spread out over the entire Cambrian belt with its fertile soils related to limestone. And even on the isolated outcroppings of limestone rock near New Market in the extreme northern end of the county, and on the small district north of Dillsburg in Carroll Township, we have today the homes of German communities. A more striking illustration than York County affords of the tendency of German settlers to occupy limestone soil can probably nowhere be found.

English speculators took out large tracts of land in these valleys of our county but it was the Germans who settled them. The Englishman, Samuel Blunston, issued the licenses and English surveyors laid off the tracts, but German immigrants occupied them. Englishmen supervised the affairs of Yorktown but Germans were the lot-owners and the citizens. An Irishman held the claim to Digges's

Choice but it was chiefly the Germans who settled the tract. Both English and Irish sought to establish themselves on the limestone island at the mouth of Cabin Branch south of the Kreutz Creek Valley, but in the course of time the Pennsylvania claim to that neighborhood prevailed and the limestone island was swallowed up and assimilated into the general German belt. On this kind of soil the Germans took up their abodes in the beginning, from this soil they excluded practically all representatives of other nationalities, and to this soil they have themselves clung most tenaciously to the present.

The frequent recurrence of this phenomenon in eastern Pennsylvania and the striking regularity and precision with which it occurs in York County encourages us to seek for its causes here. It appears then that the reasons for this rule of choice among the Germans in our county are two. In the first place, the Germans chose good farming land and in Pennsylvania the best soil for agriculture is limestone soil. It is highly improbable that the German immigrants had any knowledge or concern about the geological formations of the different districts. They had regard first of all to the vegetation which the different sections had produced in their natural state and they made choice of those regions where the trees were largest, the timber the thickest, and where the vegetation was most luxuriant. Then, too, the German insisted that his prospective farm must be well watered. These marks he always found on the acres that were underlaid with limestone.

The German instinct for the selection of good soil is traditional. It was soon observed by their neighbors in eastern Pennsylvania. The eminent Quaker, Dr. Benjamin Rush, the Tacitus of early Pennsylvania, has noted

the fact in his classic pamphlet entitled "An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania."[26] Speaking of the German farmer he says: "They always prefer good land or that land on which there is a large quantity of meadow ground. From an attention to the cultivation of grass, they often double the value of an old farm in a few years, and grow rich on farms, on which their predecessors of whom they purchased them nearly starved."[27] This intuitive knowledge of good land and this agricultural success was the inheritance of thirty generations of ancestors. The crowded conditions of life in the Rhine Valley had led to very intensive methods of cultivation, a fine skill in agriculture, and the highest degree of wisdom in the husbanding both of soil and of crops. These qualities had made the Palatinate the "garden spot" of Germany, and transferred to the rich soil of eastern Pennsylvania they made it the pride of the Keystone State.[28] The native tenacity and the indomitable

[26] This essay was written in 1789, edited and republished by I. D. Rupp in 1875, and revised with a full introduction and copious annotations by Theodore E. Schmauk in 1910. Dr. Schmauk's edition appeared as Part XXI of "Pennsylvania: The German Influence on its Settlement and Development" in the Proceedings of the Pennsylvania German Society, Vol. XIX. In his discerning account Dr. Rush gives many interesting details concerning the methods which the early Pennsylvania Germans employed in their farming and of the characteristics which distinguished them from other nationalities in Pennsylvania.

[27] Pp. 56 f. Schmauk edition. Sydney George Fisher in his "The Making of Pennsylvania" gives a brief resume of Dr. Rush's observations on this subject. He puts it thus: "They [the Germans] were good judges of land, always selected the best, and were very fond of the limestone districts." But Dr. Rush made no mention whatever of "limestone" and there is no evidence that the Germans consciously and purposely sought out this particular geological formation. They were only looking for good land and if this could have been found on any other kind of rock they would have been attracted thither.

[28] This inherited agricultural skill, together with the regular selection

industry of the Germans, together with the hard conditions under which they left their native land, made them willing to undertake heroic tasks when they arrived in the New World. Undaunted by the size of the trees or the thickness of the wilderness they boldly attacked the forests, for they realized that where the heaviest timber grew the soil must be most capable of producing rich crops. This was undoubtedly the guiding principle that led the Germans to the limestone soil. Other nationalities such as the Scotch-Irish clung to the lands that were more easily cleared. They were less inured to heavy manual labor and were guided by their bucolic instincts, while the slowly plodding German looked farther into the future and was guided entirely by his sharper eye for good soil.[29] Thus in Pennsylvania he invariably preferred the limestone regions and in York County this preference always placed him on or near the fertile ribbon that stretches along the central Cambrian belt.

After the Germans had begun their settlement in these

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of good soil, made the limestone farms of the German farmers in Lancaster, York and the other German counties without a superior in this country. Their value to the State of Pennsylvania was early recognized by Governor Thomas who said to his council on January 2, 1739: "This Province has been for some years the Asylum of the distressed Protestants of the Palatinate, and other parts of Germany, and I believe it may with truth be said that the present flourishing condition of it is in a great measure owing to the Industry of those People; and should any discouragement divert them from coming hither, it may well be apprehended that the value of your Lands will fall, and your Advances to wealth be much slower; for it is not altogether the goodness of the Soil but the Number and Industry of the People that make a flourishing Country." Col. Rec., IV: 315.

[29] Dr. George Mays refers to this contrast between the German farmer and the Scotch-Irish farmer in a brief and popular article on "The Early Pennsylvania German Farmer" in the *Pennsylvania German* magazine, Vol. II, No. 4, October, 1901, pp. 184 f. Vide also Kuhns, "German and Swiss Settlements," p. 85, and *Lutheran Quarterly,* Vol. XIII, 1883, p. 509 f.

fertile valleys other nationalities also began to recognize their value and in some instances looked upon them with covetous eyes. As early as 1733, when Cressap and some of his associates were trying to fix their abodes and establish their claims upon the cleared limestone lands at the mouth of Cabin Branch, Governor Gordon of Pennsylvania wrote to Lord Baltimore, "I could not but be of opinion that as some Gentlemen of your Lordship's Province, who, casting an Eye on those Lands, now rendered more valuable by the Neighbourhood of our Inhabitants, had attempted so unjustifiable a Survey, it might suit their purposes to have Cressop and some others of the like turbulent Dispositions settled there, to give some Countenance to their claim."[30] Others recognized also the value of the arable lands in the Kreutz Creek Valley and were very willing to take charge of them after the Germans had cleared them with the heavy toil of years, had made improvements upon them, and had begun their cultivation. In the fall of 1736, when the Germans, as we have seen, were already occupying many tracts west of the Susquehanna, and when the Chester County Plot was laid against their lands, the impelling motive of the plotters was to secure possession of the "good land" which the Germans occupied. This is indicated repeatedly by the affidavits concerning the incident.[31] These efforts to seize the lands of the German are real compliments to his wis-

[30] Pennsylvania Archives, Fourth Series, Papers of the Governors, Vol. I: 505.

[31] For example, Henry Munday, one of those implicated in the plot, testified before the Pennsylvania Council on November 27, 1736, that he and others had met Cressap and "that Cressap had shown them some vacant Plantations, and Some that were inhabited by Dutch People, with a very large Tract of good Land." Col. Rec., IV: 107. This idea recurs frequently.

dom in the choice of soil and to his skill in methods of clearing and cultivating.[32]

But there is also a second reason why the Germans in York County settled with such regularity upon the kind of land that they did. This is found in the general ethnological principle that when people migrate from one country to another, or even from one neighborhood to another, they tend to take up their new abodes upon land whose natural features resemble those of the abodes they have left. This tendency has often been observed and it has been evidenced by many nationalities.[33] It applies notably to the many Scotch-Irish in Pennsylvania and it applies to the Germans. These early German immigrants into our state were chiefly Palatines. Their native land lay about the banks of the middle and upper Rhine. It included more than the present Bavarian Palatinate; it stretched across to the eastern side of the river and embraced parts

[32] In 1744 Daniel Dulany of Annapolis made a trip to the more remote parts of his province, evidently the neighborhood of Digges's Choice, and upon his return wrote a letter to Lord Baltimore which indicates that he valued the limestone soil of that region.

"I have not been long returned from a journey into the back woods, as far as to the Temporary line between this province and Pennsylvania, where I had the pleasure of seeing a most delightful Country, A Country my Lord, that equals (if it does not exceed) any in America for natural advantages, such as a rich & fertile soil, well furnished with timber of all sorts abounding with limestone, and stone fit for building, good slate & some marble, and to crown all, very healthy. The season of the year was so far advanced towards Winter that I could not possibly go to the neck of land in the fork of the Patomack. . . ." Calvert Papers, No. 2, p. 116.

[33] Faust calls attention to it briefly thus: "This principle of selecting land similar to that which was found good at home prevailed even on a second and third choice. Remarkable instances have occurred in the cases of families who have migrated farther and farther westward, generation after generation, of the choice of a farm or homestead almost identical in appearance with the one owned by them in the original locality." Vol. II, p. 35.

of Hesse, Baden, and Würtemberg. From all parts of southwestern Germany they came. Now if we examine the topography of this part of Germany we find that it resembles closely the topography of the limestone districts of southeastern Pennsylvania including the Cambrian belt of York County.[34]

The geological formation of the Rhenish Palatinate and her nearest neighbors, it is true, is not limestone. The Bavarian Palatinate consists of four distinct sections measuring north and south, the level plain nearest the Rhine, the rolling hills which mark the approach to the Haardt, the wooded heights of the Haardt itself, and the foothills of the western district. Southwards all of these sections merge into the forests of the Vosges. The geologist discerns three geological groups, the alluvial deposits on the plain, the red sandstone soil of the rising hills, and the coal regions of the third section. In the countries just east of the Rhine the red shale of the Triassic period predominates again and lends the soil its chief characteristics.[35] This part of Germany is not entirely without its

[34] An understanding of the geology and topography of the Palatinate and southwestern Germany may best be gathered from the following works: W. H. Reihl, "Die Pfälzer," pp. 1–69. E. von Seydlitz, "Handbuch der Geographie," 25th edition, pp. 455–462. Cf. map of forests, p. 432. F. Ratzel, "Deutschland," pp. 23–132.

"Deutschland als Weltmacht," pp. 4–27, Chapter on "Deutsche Erde und Deutsches Volk," by Professor W. Goetz.

Franz Heiderich, "Länderkunde von Europa," pp. 94–112.

[35] Ratzel says: "Weit verbreitet sind von den nördlichen Vegesen an durch den nördlichen Schwarzwald, den Odenwald, Spessart, das hessische Bergland, Thüringen und das obere Wesergebeit die roten, oft leuchtend purpurbraunen Gesteine des Rotliegenden und des bunten Sandsteins, eine mächtige, aber einförmige Bildung, die dem Walde günstiger als dem Acker ist. In weiten Gebeiten Mittel- und Südwestdeutschlands breitet sich über Ackerland und Stadtarchitektur einen rötlichen Hauch. Von Basel bis Frankfurt sind die Münster und Dome aus rotem Sandstein gebaut." "Deutschland," p. 30.

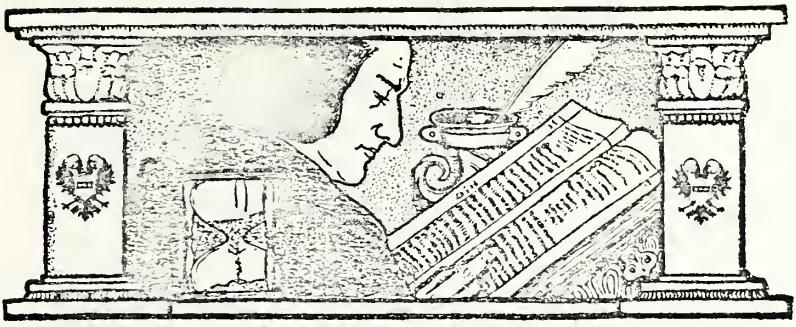
limestone but it is almost negligible in quantity and it is of that firm unyielding variety which only constitutes a barrier to the farmer. Thus the Rhenish province of Hesse contains a considerable region of durable limestone with a strong dolomitic admixture and a very narrow strip of this rock extends across the Rhine and southwards across most of the Palatinate, appearing here in the form of brecciated limestone conglomerate. So that nearly everywhere it is the Trias of the Mesozoic era which gives color to the soil. Geologically, therefore, it cannot be maintained that the Germans in our county settled upon the same kind of formation as that from which they had come when they left Europe. And herein lies a very strong indication that these people did not consciously seek out the limestone tracts when they settled in the New World.

But when we turn from the geology to the topography of the middle Rhine valleys and of southwestern Germany we find that it is very much like that of the districts upon which the German immigrants settled in York County. Not level like north Germany, not mountainous like south Germany, but a medium between the two, an undulating plain and easy rolling hills. The most familiar features in the configuration of the country are the gradual eminences which mark the steps in the elevation from the level of the Rhine in the center to the heights of the Haardt in the west and the Vosges in the southwest and to the Swabian Jura in the east and southeast.[36] The numerous valleys between are well watered by the many streams that ultimately empty into the Rhine. The red soil of the Trias is not so well adapted to agriculture as some other

[36] "Wellenförmige Fläche" and "Hügellandschaft" are the expressions most frequently used to describe the rolling surface of this country.

kinds of soil and in this part of Germany it required a hand that was highly skilled in agriculture to make the soil yield sustenance for its dense population. But this soil is well adapted to forest growths and to this day it contains large stretches of sturdy timber. Its dense forests with their luxuriant foliage constitute one of the most striking characteristics of the Palatine hills and indeed of southwestern Germany in general. From the Odenwald in the north they stretch to the Black Forest in the south and across the Rhine to the Vosges Forest in the west. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries this region must have been even more heavily wooded and it was only natural for the Palatines when they reached York County to welcome the sight of the thick timber growths on the central belt. The general contour of the Palatinate the Germans found reproduced in the undulating central region in York County with its rich forests and its many springs and streams.[37] The unconscious charm of the homeland and an instinct for the best soil led them therefore to fix their abodes upon the limestone soil and begin the work of taming the wilderness. And this fact has had a marked significance in their subsequent fortunes in this county.

[37] The writer can testify from personal observation to the striking similarity between the configuration of the land in the Rhenish Palatinate and that of the limestone valleys in York County.



CHAPTER VIII.

Their Place in Pennsylvania History.

THE part which the York County Germans of that early period played in the history of colonial Pennsylvania and in the general course of American history may be gathered from the facts and events already narrated. They were a valuable support to the provincial authorities of Pennsylvania at a time when that important province was passing through its most formative period. The Germans of York County contributed in their small measure to the support and strength of the provincial government both in its conflicts with Maryland and in its contest with certain opposing elements among its own population. Then, too, these pioneer settlements stretching out into the primeval forest seem like an index finger pointing westward to an empire of land and wealth whose conquest and acquisition by successive steps of similar communities was to make the future greatness of our nation. And finally, these first German settlers in York County constituted a small but relatively important part of that numerous and growing body of farmers in our province who early got into the native soil and drew from

it the materials that formed the basis for the prosperity of colonial Pennsylvania, even as today they constitute the backbone of the nation.

In the first place their significance for the political history of the province during those early years grows out of the fact that they were on friendly terms with the Quaker Assembly at Philadelphia. The province of Pennsylvania shared with New York the place of greatest prominence and importance among the middle colonies of the North American coast. Now the government of Pennsylvania, though at first apparently under the absolute control of one individual, was nevertheless in reality more completely democratic than any other in America. In this respect Penn's province presented a striking contrast to the government of the Puritans in New England, that of the Episcopalians in Virginia, and that of the Catholics in Maryland. Government in Pennsylvania was thoroughly representative.[1] Other colonies, notably Massachusetts and Virginia, had enjoyed a fair degree of self-government at first but had later forfeited their privileges into the hands of tyranny. But the history of Pennsylvania before the Revolution is a continuous story of the unintermittent development of civil liberty. This contrast is due to the complete ascendancy of the Quakers in Pennsylvania during that long, formative period from 1682 to 1776, when they suddenly disappeared from

[1] This is only cited as *one* of the achievements of the Quakers in colonial Pennsylvania. Others may be gathered from Chapters IV–VII of Isaac Sharpless' "A Quaker Experiment in Government."

W. A. Wallace in a lecture before the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1882 on "Pennsylvania's Formative Influence upon Federal Institutions, 1682–1787" shows by a clear statement of actual facts what remarkable results colonial Pennsylvania achieved for the nation. Vide also Pennypacker, "Pennsylvania in American History," pp. 202 ff.

power. Until the middle of the eighteenth century the political history of Pennsylvania is a history of the Quakers and from 1755 to the Revolution it is a history of the unsuccessful efforts on the part of the Scotch-Irish and the Church of England people to displace the Quakers. Throughout the period of their ascendancy the Quakers were warmly supported by the numerous German element in the province.[2] For the Germans never forgot the debt of gratitude they owed to the Quakers, and then, too, they had their own grounds of animosity against the other elements in the colony. After the middle of the century it was only the vigorous support of the Germans, who held the balance of power, that enabled the Quakers to maintain their hold upon the political helm.[3] But decades before that the Germans were coöperating with the Quakers and supporting them in their government. Palatine and Quaker labored together as builders of the commonwealth.[4] And herein lies the significance of the first two

[2] Rufus M. Jones says: "Until the Revolution the Quakers and the Presbyterians constituted the rival political forces of the provinces. The Episcopalians tended towards the Friends and the Germans were also usually sympathetic." "The Quakers in the American Colonies," pp. 494 et passim.

[3] "Parties were now [after 1763] formed on new lines. They had largely disappeared during the twenties and thirties, but at this time we find a marked difference, growing more emphatic with the years between the proprietary party and the 'country' party. The Quakers were now in considerable minority in the Province, but were practically all on one side. The Proprietors had left the Society and joined the Episcopal Church and that body rallied around them. So also did the Presbyterians, and all who believed in a vigorous, warlike policy. These stood together for proprietary rights and interests, and had as their stronghold the Governor and Council. The Friends and the Germans and their sympathizers maintained their ascendancy in the popularly elected Assembly, where they did practically as they pleased." Sharpless, "A Quaker Experiment in Government," pp. 103 f.

[4] "The Palatine and Quaker as Commonwealth Builders," by Frank

decades of York County Germans for the early political history of Pennsylvania.

The York County Germans, like the great body of their countrymen east of the Susquehanna and between the Schuylkill and the Delaware, were generally on good terms with the provincial assembly. And these kindly feelings were mutual. They are reflected in the above narrative of the earliest German settlements in the county. The provincial authorities favored these Germans where they could and these Germans for the most part loyally supported the authority of the provincial government. The government allowed the Germans very easy terms of purchase for their lands west of the river. So long as the Indians did not complain the board of property winked at the settlement of squatters upon unpurchased lands. And finally in 1733, in the matter of the Blunston licenses, the provincial authorities even strained a point in their traditional Indian policy in order to accomplish the settlement of the Germans in the Kreutz Creek Valley without delay. Afterwards when the Germans recovered from the illusion into which some of them had been misled concerning the jurisdiction over their lands and when they frankly acknowledged their error and asked to be restored to citizenship in Pennsylvania, the Council of Pennsylvania received them promptly and kindly, encouraged them in their allegiance and took measures to help them defend themselves. On this occasion the discussions in the provincial council and their letters to the governor of Maryland indicated very kindly feelings towards the Germans west of the river and a sincere sympathy for them in their

Ried Diffenderffer, is a very discerning discourse, showing the immense significance of colonial Pennsylvania in American history and the momentous influence which the combined forces of Germans and Quakers were able to exert upon that crucial colony.

trying circumstances. And from that time forward none of these Germans ever again swerved in their loyalty to the Quaker government, though it cost them many serious annoyances.

It was the tenacity of the Germans in insisting upon their rights and in maintaining the Pennsylvania claims over those parts that prevented the Marylanders from taking possession of their lands and thus giving a large semblance of correctness to the Maryland claim of jurisdiction in the Kreutz Creek and Codorus Creek valleys. Whatever the Quaker officials may have thought about the intelligence and culture of these Germans they recognized them as a good element to serve the important purpose of resisting the encroachments of the Marylanders. This service they performed and it was recognized by the government. But for the good understanding between these Germans and the Quaker government the boundary history of Pennsylvania might be very different from what it is.

Moreover, the substantial support which the York County Germans in company with the great body of their countrymen throughout the colony gave to the Quaker government was the decisive factor in helping the Quakers to maintain their ascendancy in the legislative assembly. For the Quakers had their political opponents within their own province. At first these consisted chiefly of the adherents of the Church of England, a class that was not numerous enough to be troublesome. But after the third decade of the eighteenth century the Scotch-Irish began to pour into the province in increasing numbers and as a class they aligned with the political enemies of the Quakers. Then began the political contest against the power of the peaceful Quakers which dragged on until the Revolution when the Scotch-Irish finally triumphed. But meanwhile

the Quakers had achieved remarkable results. Slowly, very slowly, through their continual disputes with the governors and proprietors, they had evolved for their province a body of constitutional liberty. Patiently, persistently, unconsciously they wrought, striving to maintain the honor of Christian civilization in the province's dealings with the Indians, and gradually working out the great constitutional principles which were the political pride of provincial Pennsylvania. This they accomplished in spite of the opposition of the Scotch-Irish and the Church of England people. And they accomplished it because they were regularly supported by the ballot of the Germans. The Germans had no political ambitions for themselves. As a class they were politically indifferent.[5] They were satisfied with the government of the Friends, they had their own grounds for gratitude to them, they disliked the Scotch-Irish and they regularly voted with the established power. A great many of the Germans were religiously akin to the Quakers, and everywhere they came into conflict with the Scotch-Irish. The Scotch-Irish as a class were settling on the outer belt of civilization on lands contiguous to the Germans and this brought about many conflicts between the two nationalities. And it has been suggested that it was these conflicts that eventually evolved a political self-consciousness on the part of the Germans themselves.[6]

[5] They were capable of being stirred by great principles, as is abundantly evidenced by their brilliant part in the French and Indian War and by their early rush to the cause of the Revolution, where they proved to be the most skilled soldiers in the Continental Army. And they soon developed great leaders among themselves and men of political influence, like Weiser and the Muhlenbergs. Nevertheless, the very earliest German settlers as a class had no ambitions to interfere in the affairs of others or to participate actively in public politics, and years elapsed before they developed a political self-consciousness.

[6] This suggestion is made by Julius Goebel, who says: "Es scheint dass

This is the perspective in which to view the relation of the York County Germans to the colonial history of Pennsylvania. For the documents concerning the early settlements in York County and the difficulties with the Marylanders reflect not a few instances of this partisan national spirit. When the German settlements in York County were taking their beginnings the Scotch-Irish had not yet arrived there and the chief opposition to the Quaker government and their faithful subjects west of the river came from Irish Catholics and from adherents of the Church of England. Thomas Cressap was an Irish Catholic from Maryland and so were his close associates at the mouth of Cabin Branch.[7] When Cressap was captured and imprisoned in Philadelphia the troubles west of the river were continued and even intensified under the leadership of another Irishman, Charles Higginbotham. Shortly thereafter Samuel Blunston wrote to President Logan that there is now not so much to fear from the Marylanders as from "our own people," that band of "Irish ruffians with Higginbotham." The reference is to the aftermath of the unsuccessful Chester County Plot. That plot had been headed by three Irishmen, Charles Higginbotham, Henry Munday, and Edward Leet, and was participated in by others with Irish names.[8] But the great majority of the participants were English or Scotch and the entire plot was

sich die Deutschen am politischen Leben der neuen Heimat vor der Mitte des 18. Jahrhunderts wenig beteiligten. Wie liesse sich auch von den Verfolgten und Gedrückten, die aus dem Vaterland kein politisches Empfinden mitbrachten, anderes erwarten? Erst langsam, wohl im Kampfe mit den Irländern und Schotten, die seit den zwanziger Jahren nach Pennsylvanien zu strömen beginnen hat sich ihr poltitisches Selbstbewusstsein entwickelt." "Das Deutschtum in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," p. 32.

[7] Vide, *e. g.*, Archives, I: 516.

[8] Vide the list of those involved, Col. Rec., IV: 102.

carried by the Pennsylvania enemies of the Quaker government. It was a minister of the Church of England who conceived the plot and directed its execution.[9] The governor and council of Maryland wrote to the King, February 18, 1737, relating how the Germans on the Kreutz Creek had renounced the authority of Maryland and adding this comment: "and in order to account for this their extraordinary proceeding they declared their unwillingness to contribute towards the support of the ministers of the Church of England by law established in this province." And about a month later Governor Ogle of Maryland wrote to the Pennsylvania authorities: "Suppose a number of your Inhabitants touched with a tender Regard for the Church of England and the support of its Ministers (and such a Case certainly is not impossible, however improbable it may be judged to be) should all of a sudden renounce your Government in the same formal manner that these People did ours for contrary Reasons, pray what would your Government do in such a Case?"[10] These expressions serve to indicate the national and ecclesiastical element that entered into the conflict.

Moreover in the face of the Chester County Plot Samuel Blunston wrote to Thomas Penn, October 21, 1736, requesting that vigorous efforts be made to prevent "the Irish from Chester County" from helping to dispossess "the Dutch west of Sasquehannah" on the ground that "it might be difficult to get the Donegal people to go against their country men." The Donegal people and others east of the Susquehanna were expected to help de-

[9] Henry Munday wrote to Rev. Jacob Henderson, November 14, 1736, "You being the first that projected the settling the said Lands and Plantations." Col. Rec., IV: 103. Henderson was also one of the Commissioners for Maryland.

[10] Col. Rec., IV: 188.

fend the Germans if necessary even as they had helped to capture Cressap and four of his associates. Now the posse of 25 persons who had effected the capture of Cressap and his associates was officially described as consisting "mostly of German Protestants & other Europeans of the Communion of the Churches of England and Scotland, of late years arrived here."[11] Hence it is clear that Blunston, himself a Friend, realized that he could not depend upon the aid of the Church of England people and the Presbyterians to support the authority of the Quaker government when that authority conflicted with the wish of other members of those faiths. No love was lost between the Germans west of the river and those of the English just east of the river who were not Quakers. In one of the forceful conflicts between these two parties in 1735 one of the Germans specially laments the fact that he "was knocked down by an Irishman."[12]

The contest with the Scotch-Irish in York County did not begin until after the period which we have studied but the coming feuds were foreshadowed. Very shortly after the Germans had made a beginning of their settlements in York County the Scotch-Irish had begun to settle in that part of the Cumberland Valley which drains into the Potomac. And they were making an unfavorable impression. Scotch-Irish immigration into Pennsylvania had begun about 1715. James Logan had early complained to the proprietor against this class of immigrants, their crowding in where they are not wanted, and their cruel treatment of the Indians. "It looks as if Ireland is to send all her Inhabitants." But with 1734 the Scotch-Irish began to come in much larger numbers. In that year they first settled in the Cumberland Valley, and already

[11] Col. Rec., IV: 128.

[12] John Lochman in Proceedings of Council of Maryland for 1735, p. 83.

on August 15 of that same year, Samuel Blunston, writing to Thomas Penn concerning the terms for warrants west of the river, expresses his opinion of these Scotch-Irish in these words:

> How far these terms may be liked by the loose setlers on potomac I know not, for though they may be easy in themselves, yet to them who were always a sort of free-booters they may seem strict enough for tis generally at present settled by such people who in all probability wil never be able to comply with the terms prescribed, nor are many of them at present able to pay for their warrants or surveys; nevertheless I think considering the dispute between the provinces they ought to be encouraged & I am of opinion it would be well they had warrants & surveys though it remained a debt on the place for those who come after to pay, for tis very probable few now settled there will be the possessors at the end of seven years But for some consideration assigning their rights to more industrious & able persons will stil remove further, such idle trash being generally the frontiers of an improving colony. However poor as they are since they are the present Inhabitants as I said before I think they should be encouraged to keep them in possession, but I only speak this of those Inhabitants towards Potowmac.

Blunston evidently wishes to draw a sharp distinction between the earliest settlers in the Cumberland Valley and his German neighbors just west of the Susquehanna.

Blunston's expectations that these earliest Scotch-Irish settlers among the headwaters of the Conococheague would not long remain there but would soon be succeeded by a different class of settlers, were abundantly fulfilled by the subsequent course of events. For when the Scotch-Irish began to settle in York County violent conflicts took place between them and the Germans.[13] For the sake of the peace of the province, therefore, the proprietors in 1749

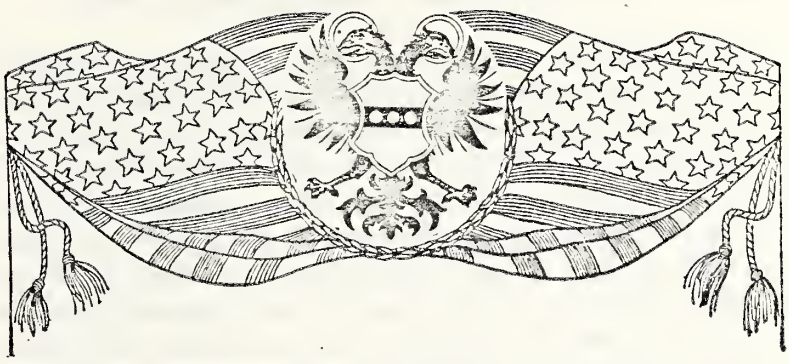
[13] Vide, *e. g.*, Rupp's "History of Lancaster and York Counties," pp. 581–585.

instructed their agents not to sell any more lands in York County to the Irish but to hold out strong inducements to people of that nationality to settle further north. This suggestion, however, seems to have had little effect in the way of diverting the stream of Scotch-Irish immigration from the immediate neighborhood of the Germans. But meanwhile the Germans themselves had begun to supplant the Scotch-Irish, so far as they were settled upon good soil, by buying out their lands and improvements. From York and Lancaster Counties and the counties farther east they crossed Adams County and the South Mountain into the Cumberland Valley and purchased the holdings of the Scotch-Irish there, while these removed north across the Susquehanna or west beyond the Blue Ridge. This process of supplanting the Scotch-Irish began as early as 1757 and by the time of the Revolution the limestone Cumberland Valley was occupied predominantly by Germans.[14]

The significance of the early York County Germans for contemporary history of Pennsylvania, therefore, grows out of their warm support of the Quaker regime, their stout opposition to the Maryland claims, and their contact and conflicts with the Scotch-Irish. And this last, as we have seen, is involved in their regular choice of limestone lands.

[14] Egle's "History of Pennsylvania," p. 615. Rupp has also noted this same process of Germans supplanting Scotch-Irish in Northampton County, Rush's "Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania," Schmauk edition, p. 57, footnote 35. Also Rupp's "History of Lancaster and York Counties," p. 576, footnote.

Ascherwall in his "Observations on North America" in 1767 says: "Scotch and Irish often sell to the Germans, of whom from 90 to 100,000 live in Pennsylvania, and prefer to put all their earnings into land and improvements. The Scotch or Irish are satisfied with a fair profit, put the capital into another farm, leaving the Germans owners of the old farms." Ascherwall received his information from Franklin the year previous. *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. 27, p. 5.



CHAPTER IX.

Their Place in General American History.

IT remains but to indicate with a few strokes the position of these early communities in the general course of American civilization. Of course in so far as colonial Pennsylvania was a formative factor in American history and in so far as these Germans helped to give direction to events in colonial Pennsylvania, their place in American history may be gathered from the preceding chapter. But they have also another significance for American history, a significance that comes not indirectly from the part they played in the history of their own province but directly from their own influence upon American life and civilization.

So far as numbers and possessions are concerned they constituted only a very small part of the American nation and their significance in themselves when weighed in the balances of the whole continent must necessarily be very small except in so far as they are indicative of a larger movement and prognostic of a greater future. In fact they constitute but a small portion even of the German

element in the population of colonial America. But when viewed in the perspective of nearly two centuries they are seen to be the very van of a great movement that has made the American nation and moulded the American character and fixed American institutions. In the light of what has already been said concerning their distinguishing characteristics it must appear that their national significance is entirely disproportionate to their numbers and their holdings. Their significance for the history of American civilization and the evolution of American institutions lies partly in their location, partly in their occupation, and partly in their qualities of character.

In the first place, the Germans in York County before the middle of the eighteenth century were upon the very frontier of American civilization. Now the whole history of the American advance even down to our day is the history of the western frontier. The peculiarity of American institutions is the result of successive waves of westward expansion. The forces dominating American character today are the outgrowth of the gradual development from the simplicity of primitive industrial society to the complexity of modern manufacturing civilization. Over and over again this process has been repeated on each new frontier line as the population from decade to decade has marched with steady step across the American expanse. This continual rebirth of American life has given indelible stamp to our national character and our national institutions. The European has conquered the wilderness but during the process the wilderness has reacted upon the European and made him over into a new character with new ideas and new ideals. The frontier has been the meeting-point between civilization and savagery and thus it has constituted the crucible in which the different Euro-

pean nationalities have been moulded into an entirely new product known as the American.

The westward advance of the frontier has taken place in well-defined stages marked by natural boundary lines. At the end of the seventeenth century the frontier was the fall line, the edge of the tide-water region of the Atlantic coast. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had advanced to the Alleghanies. During the Revolution the frontier crossed the Alleghanies and by the end of the century reached the Ohio. At the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century it had advanced to the Mississippi. By the middle of the nineteenth cenutry it lay along the Missouri. Shortly thereafter it leaped across the Rockies and by the centennial year it had reached the Pacific and had begun to swerve northward towards Canada and Alaska. Thus has the retreating frontier marked the stages in the growth of the nation.

At each of these boundary lines the process of American transformation has been very similar. First came the Indian trader's frontier. The Indian had followed the buffalo trail. Now the trader, the pathfinder of civilization, follows the Indian trail and begins the disintegration of savagery. He is soon followed either by the miner or the rancher, and the trail is widened into a road. Then comes the pioneer farmer to exploit the soil, render it "barren," and then move on to virgin lands. He is followed by the steady farmer who devotes himself to intensive culture and permanent settlement, and he converts the road into a turnpike. This denser farm settlement is followed by city and factory with all the complexity of manufacturing organization. The turnpike has now been transformed into a railroad and the process of Americanization is complete. Each of these stages has wrought political

and economic transformations and has contributed something towards the finished American product.[1]

In this process of American history it is not difficult to determine the place of the York County Germans as they appeared during the period which has come under our view. They fall within that stage when the Atlantic coast was yet the only settled area and when the frontier was slowly advancing up the courses of the Atlantic rivers towards their headwaters and towards the Alleghanies. But in this transition from the coast to the mountains the York County settlements constitute an important step. The first to settle west of the Susquehanna in this region, and among the first of all the settlements west of this natural dividing-line, the early German communities of York County stand like an auspicious prognosticator pointing westward beyond the South Mountain and the Blue Ridge and inviting to the conquest of the Alleghanies and the promising lands beyond. Like an entering wedge into the Indian country this tongue of German settlements pushed forward indenting the wilderness, broadening the national horizon, and inspiring to almost limitless acquisition of empire.

When the Germans settled in York County the Indian trader's frontier had passed. The Indian had withdrawn into the interior and with him had gone the trader. The mining explorer had also had his day in York County. It was time for the farmer's frontier and this was the posi-

[1] For this view of American history we are indebted to Professor F. J. Turner, of Harvard. A brief statement of Professor Turner's philosophy of American history together with valuable suggestions as to the concrete influence of the frontier upon certain phases of American character and American institutions, is found in his article "The Significance of the Frontier in American History" in the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1893, pp. 197–247.

tion occupied by the Germans. Throughout colonial times Pennsylvania was the basis of distribution of frontier emigration and the settlement of York County is significant as one of the earliest steps in this Pennsylvania expansion southward and westward. The observer who takes his stand among the Delaware and Shawnese Indians on the west bank of the Susquehanna at the opening of the eighteenth century will see the successive stages of the American frontier passing before his view in exactly the same order in which they afterwards pass the many natural boundaries in their westward course to the Pacific. With the beginning of the fourth decade of that century Indian resistance will have ceased, the farmer with intensive methods of culture will have arrived, the next to the last stage in the process of complete Americanization will have been reached, and there will remain but one more step to make this region one of the most populous and thriving communities in the New World. The place of the first decades of York County Germans in general American history may be seen from the fact that they constituted the farmer stage of the American frontier during a critical period in the frontier advance. The settling of these Germans was like the formation of an artery in the embryo of the nation that was yet to be.

The movement of the Germans across the Susquehanna was a decided step in advance. Others had come as far as that river but had halted and hesitated to cross. Before the first authorized settlement had been made in York County the Quaker settlements had been slowly pushing westward along the northern part of Lancaster County. In 1727 a number of Quakers, among them Samuel Blunston, John Wright, and Robert Barber, had settled at Hempfield, on the east bank of the Susquehanna. But

here the westward migration of the Friends halted for more than a decade. The cause of this delay in their progress was the boundary dispute with Maryland and the Cressap War which resulted from that dispute. Not until 1738 did the Quaker movement continue across the river and begin the belt of Quaker settlements which extends across the northern part of York County.[2] Meanwhile the German wave of westward immigration had arrived. This tide suffered no serious check either from the river or from the Cressap War. These hardy and resolute Germans quickly crossed the river, plunged boldly into the forest, and bore the brunt of the border difficulties with the Maryland intruders. Not until this critical and difficult stage in the history of that frontier had been passed and quiet had been restored did the other nationalities sweep into the county after them. To the Germans, therefore, was reserved the special mission of occupying in a peculiar sense the very forefront of the farmer stage of the frontier in this part of the American advance beyond the Susquehanna.

But even within the farmer stage of the American advance there are usually two or three distinct periods in each case. Two or three classes of farmers follow one another across the frontier. First is the pioneer farmer whose wants are few but who seeks quick results. He searches out the bare spots or those most easily cleared and begins to exploit the virgin soil. He has no ambition to become the owner of his holding for he expects soon to take up his march again. With the simplest implements of agriculture, a rude log cabin, and a rough shed for a stable, he occupies his range until he has completely drained the soil

[2] Albert Cook Myers, "The Immigration of the Irish Quakers into Pennsylvania, 1682–1750," pp. 162 and 180.

of its strength or until he is crowded by neighbors. Then he disposes of his "improvements" and moves on to new soil to carry out the same process again.

The second class of farmer is the settler who stakes out his claim, takes measures to secure a survey, and negotiates for the purchase of that which he occupies. He welcomes neighbors into his community, builds a church and schoolhouse, and practices the arts of civilized life. He builds a substantial house and often a more substantial barn. His house is of hewn logs, with windows of glass and a chimney of brick or stone. His barn is made to shelter a large number of domestic animals and to store the products of careful cultivation. He rotates his crops and fertilizes his lands so as not to exhaust the soil. He adds to his fields from year to year and settles down to plain and frugal but contented living. This is the class of farmer that usually continues to occupy his improvements and thus forms the nucleus of permanent settlement.

Sometimes this second class is followed by a third class, the capitalist. This man of enterprise buys out some of the substantial properties of the second class. Industrial enterprises are begun on a larger scale. Villages are laid out and soon grow into towns. Large edifices arise; higher education begins; the finer arts of civilization are practiced; and above all manufacturing industries begin, factories loom into view, and the community has brought forth a city. This class marks the transition to the final stage of the American frontier.

Now the York County Germans before the middle of the century belong almost exclusively to the second class of the farmer stage. The third class did not make its appearance among them until somewhat later. And the first class mentioned above never did have a place in the

German belt of York County. The typical pioneer farmer with his superficial methods of cultivation was well represented, as we have seen, among the earliest inhabitants of the southeastern part of the county. But the German settlers on the limestone belt belonged entirely to the second class. They came intending that their settlements should be permanent and they proceeded accordingly in their methods of clearing and improving.[3] And it is a remarkable fact that these early settlers usually continued to occupy their original possessions until their death. They added to their belongings but in very few cases did they migrate from their settlements. The good soil had attracted them to these valleys and their own skillful methods of cultivation kept them there. As their growing families demanded more lands they spread out and occupied more and more of the Cambrian belt but usually remained in the same general neighborhood.

Despite the difficulties that confronted them in their new homes these German farmers in the first half of the eighteenth century flourished rapidly. Many of them when they died were possessed of property whose value is a

[3] These intensive methods were the result of inheritance and of experience and hence it was a rare thing to find a German exhibiting the characteristics of the earliest class of pioneer farmers. Where the Germans have gradually occupied large farming areas they have done so not by migration but by expansion. An appreciative description of the characteristics of the German farmer in colonial Pennsylvania is that from the pen of their contemporary, Dr. Rush, in his "Account," Schmauk edition, pp. 54–73.

The preference of the German farmer for forest land, his intensive methods of culture, and the consequences of this combination in the subsequent prosperity of the German farmer in the northwest, are described by Emil Rothe in his article on "Die Entwicklung des Deutschtums im Nordwesten," in Jahrgang II, 2. Heft (April 1870), p. 55 et passim, of "Der Deutsche Pioneer."

splendid monument of their industry and economy.[4] In their position as a flourishing farming community they were not without significance not only for the early history of Pennsylvania but even for the general course of American history. It has been asserted that these "farms of the

[4] This rapid prosperity of the original settlers is abundantly proved by a study of their wills and by the inventories of their property at their death. Thus the inventory of Christian Croll (completed on August 22, 1758) indicates a remarkable growth to wealth during the 25 years of his settlement in York County. Among his possessions are the following:

"Houses and Lots in Yorktown

2 Houses and lots in High Street	£490
House and lot at the North and Water Street	£50
One do at the east end of Race Street	£45
One do adjoining Jos Adlums House	£80
Improvement bought of Geo Albright	£380
Improvement bought of Jacob Hoague	£120
Patent Lands on west side Conewago	£140
Part of the improvement in partnership with Mr. Stevenson.	£70 "

The list of "chattels" covers 19 pages. Of these there are articles to the value of £ 351 10 s. 8 p. in "the Shop," and others to the value of £ 4 1 s. 6 p. in "the Bar." The "book debts" cover 9 pages and amount to about £ 750. Two pages of these are called "debts due for smith work." The inventory indicates that the total of his possessions at his death amounted to £ 3,476 8 s. 9 p.

But Christian Croll had become a blacksmith in York and his extraordinary prosperity may have been due partly to that fact. More typical perhaps is the inventory of Jacob Welshover (1758) and for that reason this inventory is reproduced in full in Appendix *C*.

The inventory of the property of John Jacob Kuntz (September 17, 1754) estimates his plantation alone at £ 320. The inventory of Frederick Lether (made July 8, 1746, that is, before York County was established) estimates his "Blandation or Improvement" at £ 150 and his total possessions at £ 232 6 s. 6 p. For Micheal Spengler whose inventory was made on March 20, 1748, the "Big Plantation" is placed at £ 350 and his "Chattels" at £ 292. The inventory of Balser Shamberger (made April 28, 1751) estimates his "improvement and winter grain" at £ 200. John Kuhns (inventory dated May 26, 1753) had personal estate alone valued at £ 371 5 s. 8 p. These inventories are thoroughly typical and indicate a remarkable degree of early prosperity on the part of these first settlers.

Germans became the wheat granary of the world."[5] From this point of view their significnce might be traced in a great many directions. Suffice it to say here that not until we have formed a correct estimate of the service of the American farmer to the American nation will we be able to determine with precision the place of the early York County Germans in general American history. As a part of that great body of prosperous farmers who have always constituted the very bone and sinew of our national existence, the York County Germans of the first half of the eighteenth century have more than ordinary significance for the national history of their times.

And finally, the Germans of York County before the middle of the eighteenth century occupy a distinct place in general American history because they fulfilled a special mission in the general movement of Germans in this country. That the great body of Germans in the United States has at all periods of our history had a decided cultural influence upon American institutions is now freely recognized on all sides.[6] The relation of the early German settlements of York County to the other German settlements of that time has already been set forth in detail.[7] Their significance lies in the fact that they occupied advance ground. They had moved out on the frontier farther

[5] By Professor Turner as quoted in Faust, I: 138 and II: 36.

[6] For a general evaluation of the German element in this country see Faust, "The German Element in the United States," Vol. II; Rudolf Cronau, "Drei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Lebens in Amerika"; and Bosse, "Das Deutsche Element in den Vereinigten Staaten."

[7] Supra, Chapter VI.

The position of the Pennsylvania Germans in general among the other nationalities in colonial Pennsylvania, and the circumstances that led to the prominent part of the Germans in the Revolution from England, are suggested in Pfister, "Die Amerikanische Revolution 1775–1783," pp. 51–97 and 128–170.

than any other of the numerous German settlements in Pennsylvania. This was both a result and a cause of certain distinguishing elements of character which they manifested in their lives and conduct. These Germans made a new frontier but the frontier made them over into a new nationality. The peculiarity of their position coupled with their previous experience and their special characteristics gave them freer rein for self-government than any other German community had and it made them more susceptible to the reflex influence of the New World. Separated from the great body of their countrymen in America and free from all ties that might bind them to the Fatherland, they soon began the process of Americanization. The unconscious charm of the locality quickly made its impress upon their plastic German souls. The length, the breadth, the giant height and the rich depth of the new continent left an indelible stamp upon their characters and quietly transformed them into a new people. From the soil of their new homes and from the incidents and circumstances of their new life arose the inexorable forces that compelled them to stand forth a new type of world's citizen. The period which we have studied marks little more than the beginning of this important process of transformation. But already at the time of the Revolution the process is fairly complete. At the report of the first shot at Lexington they showed themselves the best Americans of us all and when General Washington in camp at Valley Forge felt that he was in the enemy's country the center of the German belt in York County was the home of the national capital. The first two decades of York County Germans constituted one of the first chapters in the Americanization of the great and influential German element in this country.



Appendix A.



Letter of Samuel Blunston to the Proprietors, April 9, 1735.

May it please the proprietors:

By John Hendricks I received a letter which informs me of his complaint of the unfair & dishonest usage he has met with from John Wright & me in relation to the land opposite to us. As I well know we are clear of any such charge I shal according to your desire give a full relation to the whole affair & coppys of letters sufficient I hope to satisfy you that no imputation of unfair practice can justly be charged on either of us.

In the later part of the year 1726 John Hendricks being over the river Turkey Hunting with some of his relations through a stupid carelessness or fatal mistake shot a young man his first cousen & killed him. This accident & some ill management of his affairs put him upon selling the place where he lived & to gain a new settlement in the spring of the year 1727 he applyed to J: Logan for leave to settle over the river oposite to us teling him the Indians were desirous he & his brother James should settle there. J: Logan haveing heard the Marylanders designed to survey that land upon this application of John & also of one Jos: Chaphem wrote me the following letter: Friend Saml Blunston: I am informed that some persons from Maryland have proposed to survey & take up that tract of land where the Shawanna Indians were lately settled on the west side of Sasquehannah opposite to Hempfield to prevent which & for their own accomodation John Hendricks & Hendrick Hendricks sons of Jacobus Hendricks are desirious to seat themselves there as also Joseph Chapham would willingly make some settlement. Therefore if thou please to run lines about the

best part of that tract taking in about 1000 or 1500 As or more for William Penn grandson to the late proprietor who devised 10,000 acres of land in this province to his grandson by will. And return the draught thereof to me, I shall satisfie thee for thy trouble therein. And if the sd Brothers & Jos Chapham can obtain the consent of the Shawannah the chief of those Indians we should be willing they should make settlements on those parts of the tract as may be convenient for themselves & at the same time the least injurious to the remainder of, it & be pleased to inform me what thou does herein who am with respect thy loving friend J Logan Philadelphia May 10, 1727.

This is the letter & the only letter or pretense on which J Hendricks founds his claim & by this you will see the land was not apparently laid out for him, & by this both he and his brother James (who is there called Hendrick) & Jos Chapham were but to settle on part of it the least Injurious &c But the letter speaks for itself & I proceed. In the month of July following pursuant to sd order I went over & marked four corners including the greatest part of the tract after surveyed & no more was done at that time the weeds being so high we could not chain it nor carry an instrument to any purpose.

About this time or a little before the afsd Henry Hendricks & one Thomas Linvil went & settled at Codorus a Creek about 12 miles west of sd River which settlements disturbing the Indians they threatened to burn their houses and obliged Em to quit their settlements & return back to this side. The Indians opposing the peoples settling hindered John Hendricks from removing thither that year as he had intended for as some of the chief of the Indians told me John had no liberty from them as he had falsely reported to J: Logan Now as all the 3 persons before mentioned were to have but part of that tract & Jos Chapham wholy declined settling there & went to Carolina John Wright & I thought we might without any injustice ask leave to secure a part of it for ourselves, some further attempts being made to settle it. Accordingly when John Wright went to town the August following & spoke to J:

Logan in behalf of himself upon which & some other affairs J L wrote the following part of a letter:

Phila 10 August 1727

My frd S. B: J Wright spent the last evening with me & informs me that the people having got a notion that those Indians of the 5 nations who were here lately had assigned all their claim to the lands about Sasquehannah were now crowding upon those lands beyond the River in order to settle them though this part of the Indians is surely a mistake. As he desires a part of that 1000 acres formerly mentioned to be secured for one of his boys. I am very willing he should be favoured in any thing that is practicable of that kind, and that the land should be kept for him from all others, if it may be done & in order to it would have him take some proper methods to secure it. But people must be no means be allowed to take up lands & make settlements on that further side, otherwise then as it may answer some other necessary end. Nor would we by any means have the Indians to quit their settlements there or abandon those parts of Sasquehannah. I mean principally the other side of it.

In the fall of the year the Marylanders continuing their incroachments Jno Wright & I in a letter joyntly to J Logan gave him an account thereof & made request that we might have something from them to show a right to part of the afsd land (which then all lay vacant) that we might be the better able to prevent others who had designs to come there. John Hendricks also being with him about that time to make a second request for leave to go to that tract J Logan thereupon wrote to us joyntly a letter upon the subject of the Maryland incroachments, & upon the present affair, the part thereto relating as follows:

Phila 30/8/1727/ Jno Wright & Sam'l Blunston: Loving frds: In answer to yours of the 28th instant I must observe &c here he gives a pretty large account of a former agreement between the two provinces about the boundaries & then says . . . I wish we could fal on any possible measures to prevent their settlements, if you can

think of any it would be very acceptible, if at the desire of the Commisioners which you may take as expressed in this letter you would be pleased to put Em in practice. I prompted John Hendricks to write of his affair to you though I can say nothing further than what I told himself viz: that since he has not yet settled which I thought he had done long since, & the Indians insist on our former agreement not to suffer any such, it woud be extremely Irregular in us at this time to agree to it. As to the land opposite agt you I believe we shal all be very willing that you should take any measures to secure it without giving offence to the natives we can make no grant at present but any thing else in our power we should readily consent to.

From the concessions or promises in these letters mentioned rose our expectations that in a proper time we might be able to make some of that land our own upon the credit hereof with much care & pains prevented it from being settled by others which we till this time have done.

In the year 1728 the Indians grew more cool as they perceived if they hindered our people the Marylanders would have it. John Hendricks without any further licence removed over and took his choice of the whole tract settling where he now lives Now though by the first letter of J L it plainly appears that (1) the whole tract was never intended to be the sole property of J Hendricks. So it also appears by that & the other letters already quoted which will also be corroborated by what follows that the tract though ordered to be surveyed for the use of W. Penn was not strictly so intended, that survey then made & his name used as most proper to secure it from the Marylanders they not being then willing to have any survey made to private persons lest others might claim the like power.

In the year 1729 the Marylanders made a fresh attempt upon us & that produced the following paragraph in a letter from J Logan to me bearing date the 29th of Novemb 1729 where he thus concludes: "I am told just now here that they are surveying all the Land over Sasquehannah from Maryland and sel it again to our people. Pray discourage it to the utmost & do thou also survey to perplex Em. And in another letter dated the 4th of December

following are these words: I wish thou would exert thyself & make surveys in any name whatsoever &c From all which the intention of these surveys I think plainly appear; according to the foregoing orders & some others I wrote him a letter dated the 30th of November Afsd which among other things contains what follows: I have laid out the Land for the Donegal Congregation according to thy order & I think to the satisfaction of all parties & have given them a draught thereof. I have also this week perfected a Survey of that piece of Land over the River on which J. Hendricks is settled of which I shall return thee a draught by the first opportunity. The whole contains about 1200 Acres, Six Hundred whereof regularly divided being the uper side & best part of the tract and on which J. Hendricks has settled we have left to him But he is so far from being satisfied with it that Except he could have it so as to spoil the whole tract he will I suppose apply for a Maryland right for redress. All the land about Parnels is surveyed & settled by Marylanders & many people out of this province are for removing over the river so that I doubt not but another year will settle most of the habitable land for they flock over daily in search. The remainder of that by Hendricks would have been settled before now had they not been prevented. John Wright & I desiring it may be kept vacant at present that when opportunity presents we may obtain grants for it. . . .

About the year 1731 the before mentioned James Hendricks went & settled on the back part of the tract on which John lived It always being understood to be their equal right & early in the Spring 1732 John & James and their father Jacobus went down together on that side with their Guns intending to shoot some turkeys at the place where John had before shot his cousin, and in the way the old man's Gun went of by accident & killed James Dead on the Spot his Death occasioned his widdow to leave the place which she after sold to Joshua Minshal who now lives on it. Nothing more was done till after the first of you arrived when J Hendricks Jos Minshal John Wright & myself altogether applied to the Honourable Proprietary for the Grants for our several parts of the sd tracts as itt had been last surveyed and divided & John Hendricks then made no

demand or claim to any more then his share with Jos Minshal in the six hundred acres. How the other wild notion since got into his head I know not.

Thus having traced it down from the first beginning to this present it is time so conclude. And I hope enough is said to convince you that we never had any the least intention to act an unjust part therein towards J Hendricks or any other person. And as you desired an account from me I hope you will be so kind as to let me know your sentiments of our Behavior therein. And if any Scruple yet remains with you that the licence or grant which I rec'd is on a bad foundation I am ready to resign it. Though the pains I have taken to secure it & my endeavours to prevent the mischiefs which have hapened on that side has been to me a source of continued care and trouble. I do not mention this to make merit of any thing I have done nor do I expect or desire any reward but what proceeds from a consciousness of having done my duty. The land I am ready at all times to pay for if it be thought I am honestly in possession of it, otherway I made no claim.

For the rest of the letter I need only say I have not heard of the taxgathers being up. If they come with an evil intent I shall us my endeavours to circumvent Em.

As to the Behavior of John Wrights Sons or any other persons on this side towards Hendricks he is so far from having any Ground for complaint that they and many others have long borne & yet do bear his intolerable abuses & insults purely upon your account which else would never be suffered.

As to Cressops Complaint agt the Magistrates the Charge is too General to receive any other answer than that I know nothing of it.

I am with great regard your assured ffrd

Sa Blunston

Apr. 9th in the evening 1735

The Messenger staid a little longer than expected which gave me time to finish this.

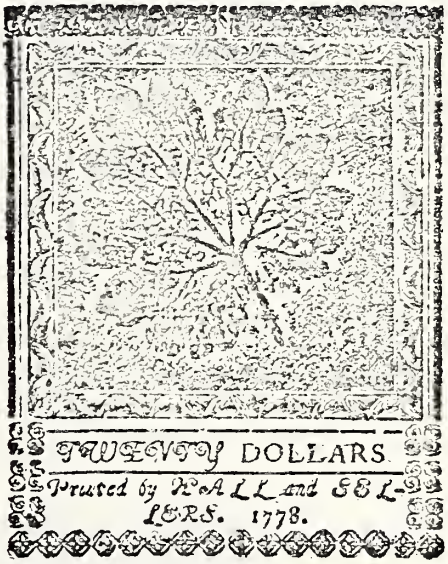


Names of Those Who Signed the Letter of the Germans to the Governor of Maryland, August 11, 1736 (Calvert Papers, No. 717).

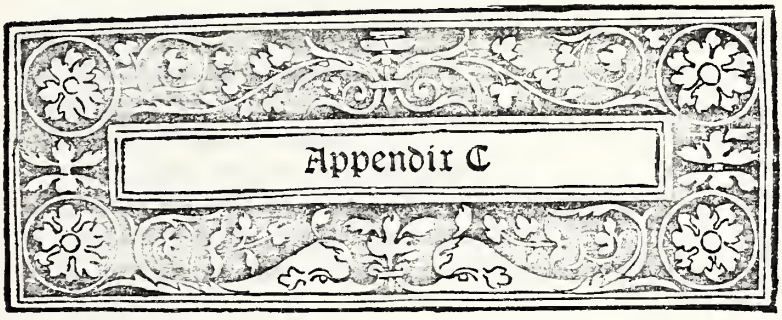
These names are all included in the list of those for whose arrest a warrant was issued on October 21, 1736, "for contriving signing and publishing a seditious paper and writing against his Lordship and this government." The names are here given as copied by the clerk in Maryland and that accounts for the peculiar spelling.

Jacob Grable
Jacob Seglaer
Conrade Lowe
Christian Lowe
Jacob Seglaer, jr.
Michael Aringall
Philip Seglaer
Dennis Myer
Hans Stanner
Tobias Spright
Tobias Hendricks
Leonard Immel
Balchar Sangar
Methusalem Griffith
Gorrick Cobell
Kelyon Smith
Nicholas Peery
Micheal Tanner
Micheal Wallack
Micheal Evat
Micheal Miller
Jasper Carvel
George Swope
George Philier
Nicholas Butchier
Andrew Phlaviere
Henry Stantz
Henry Lephart

Peter Gardiner
Jacob Lonus
Nicholas Conn
Bartholemew Shambarrier
Henry Young
Caspar Varglass
Bryonex Tander
Christian Crowle
Conrade Stricklaer
Henry Bowen
Francis Worley, jr.
Martin Sluys
Jacob Hoopinder
Michael Raisher
Tobias Fray
Martin Fray
Henry Smith
Jacob Welchhutter
Henry Henricks
Charles Jones
Adam Byer
Godfrey Fray
Nicholas Hatchley
Micheal Waltz
Martin Wyngall
Eurick Myer



REVERSE OF TWENTY DOLLAR CONTINENTAL CURRENCY SHOWN ON PAGE 95.



Inventory of the Estate of Jacob Welshover.

Jacob Welshover's will was made on November 15, 1757, and witnessed by Heinrich Schmidt and Heinrich Libhart. It was probated on June 29, 1758. The appraisement was made on August 24, 1758, by Heinrich Schmidt and another German. The inventory totals £495 18 s. 0 p. The items are as follows:

	£ — s — p
7 Cows	17— 0—0
the other young horn Cattle	12— 0—0
5 sheep	1—10—0
2 Wagon horses	20— 0—0
1 Meare	6— 0—0
thre Hogs	0—15—0
10 Hives of Bees	3—10—0
1 high Wagon	13— 0—0
6 ould wagon wheals	5— 0—0
2 Blows	1—10—0
1 Iron Harrow	1— 5—0
5 braks	0—10—0
4 collers Iron trasis brich bands bridle	4—10—0
Doung plows forks Shoffels pitch forks	0—17—0
the wind mill & Sives Riddels	1—10—0
the thrash mill	0—18—0

the cottin box	0—14—0
2 large Roaps and a blow line	0— 4—0
Wheat and Rey of 16 Acre of ground	16— 0—0
2 acre of Hemp in the field	3—10—0
the Still & the Iron & worm blongin to it	18— 0—0
9 Tobs in the Still house	1—12—0
a box where the keep the Chopt Rey in	0— 5—0
washing Tobs & other tobs & rails & Halbushel	1— 0—0
Clean Hemp	6— 0—0
Earthen pots dishes & plats	0— 6—0
the hogsheds & other casks in the Seller	3—10—0
Rey Liquer four Barrels	9—10—0
Talow about 15 pound	0— 6—0
butter Cands or boxis & pokeds	0— 5—0
meal and wedges from broad ax	1—10—0
Draw Knife Oagers Chisels	1— 5—0
four plains and 2 Saws	0— 9—0
2 Cross Cut Saw & the Brand mark	1—10—0
the wagon or hand screw	1—15—0
2 old bells & a pair of Stilliels	0— 9—0
2 Hatchets	1— 2—0
Brass Cettels & other Brass	5— 0—0
2 Tables & 4 Chairs	1—10—0
the Iron of an ould Chist a Cobbert & Doadrough	1— 0—0
Dresser in the kitchen	1—10—0
a Cloathbed	2—10—0
A Clock	4— 0—0
A water Cand & baskeds	0— 8—0
Iron pots & pans & other things	2— 0—0
Tea pot a pair of Ballons	0—12—0
All the Beuter plats dishis spoons &c	2—15—0
Tinn quarts fonnel & other things	0— 6—0
Bowls tea Cups &c	0— 3—0
Bibles & other books	2— 0—0
Sacks & Cloth for a wagon Cloth	3— 1—0
Blankets vinegar Cask a gun Spining wheals	2— 0—0

2 Beds & bed Sted Slats	5— 0—0
a Flower Chist	15— 0—0
Coat & Chacket britches & Shirts	2— 5—0
Table Cloth Sheets & other lining	1— 0—0
Linsy woolsy	1— 4—0
2 Chains	0—15—0
Bees wax	0—10—0
an ould Spining wheal & sum yearn	0—12—0
30 bushel of Wheat	3—15—0
20 bushel of Rey	1—13—0
40 bushel of oats	2—10—0
5 bushel of flax Seed	0—12—0
a mans Sattle & a womens Saddle	1— 5—0
Tenn Pounds in money	10— 0—0
One Stove	3—15—0
for the improvement	250— 0—0



Appendix D

Bibliography.

I. *Primary Sources.*

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The Colonial Records; or Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government.—Materials bearing directly on our subject are found principally in Volumes II–V containing the acts of the Council from 1700 to 1754. These records were published by the State in 1851 and 1852. The designation in the text "Col. Rec." always refers to the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania.

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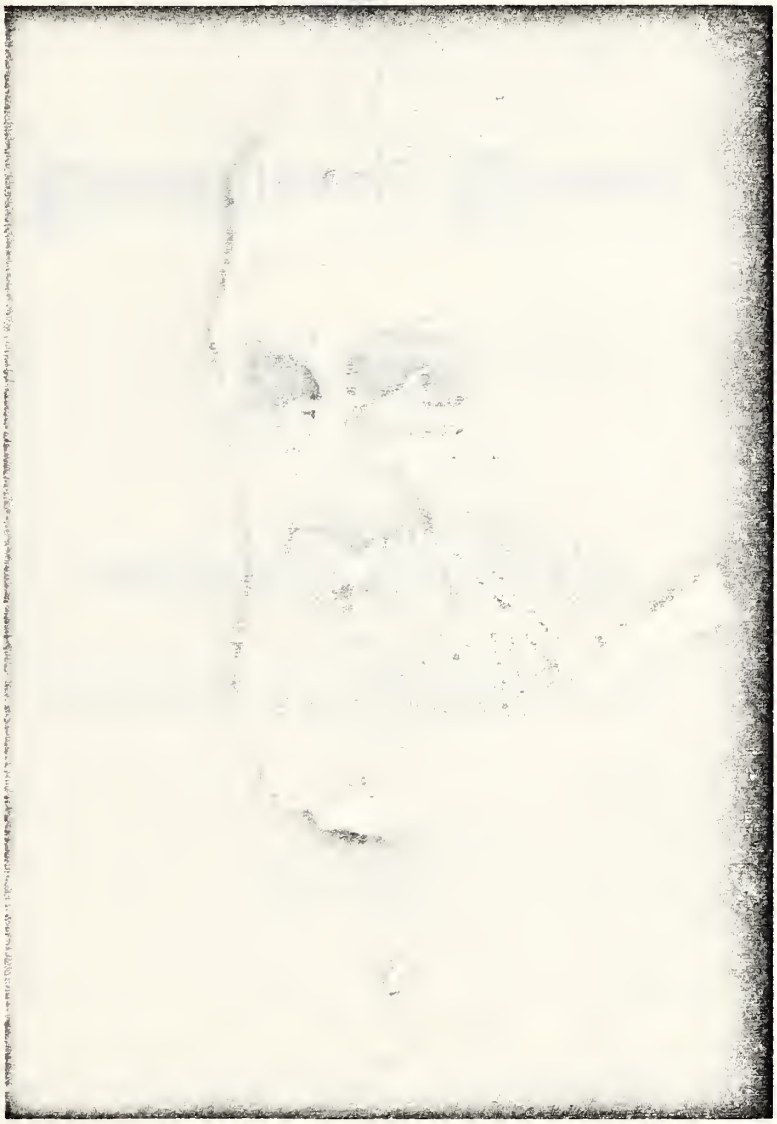
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Julius F. Sachse

TWENTY-FIFTH PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

The Pennsylvania-German Society.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

LANCASTER, PA., NOVEMBER 13, 1914

VOL. XXV.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY
1917

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Publication Committee

JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.
DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.

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THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

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(Died February 27, 1915.)
HON. HARMAN YERKES.

Vice-Presidents:

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(Died August 25, 1915.)
ALBERT K. HOSTETTER.

Secretary:

PROF. GEORGE T. ETTINGER, PH.D.,
Allentown, Pa.

Treasurer:

J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M.D.,
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REV. NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER, PH.D., D.D., LL.D.
ULYSSES S. KOONS, ESQ.

Terms Expire 1919.
REV. L. KRYDER EVANS, D.D.
JULIUS F. SACHSE, LITT.D.
CHARLES R. ROBERTS, ESQ.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

AT ITS

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING

HELD IN THE FIRST REFORMED CHURCH, LANCASTER, PA.,

ON FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1914.

THE first session of the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society was called to order by the President, Dr. Julius F. Sachse, in the First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., at half past ten o'clock, on Friday morning, November 13, 1914, in the presence of an excellent gathering of members and friends of the Society.

After a hearty welcome had been extended to the Society on the part of the authorities of the city of Lancaster, an earnest invocation was offered by Rev. John S. Stahr, D.D., LL.D., a former President of the Society. Upon motion duly made and seconded the reading of the minutes of the last annual meeting was dispensed with.

The President thereupon called for the annual report of the Secretary, which here follows in full.

Report of the Secretary,
Prof. George T. Ettinger, Ph.D.

Mr. President and Fellow-members of the Pennsylvania-German Society: The Secretary is very happy to be able to report to you in annual meeting assembled that, during the year now drawing to a close, the Society has maintained its usual measure of prosperity and has continued to further the noble work for which it was established by the loving sons of loyal fathers.

In all phases of its activities, in its aims and its efforts, its ideals and its endeavors, our Society has remained true to the spirit in which it was founded, and true to the spirit in which it has prospered. As heretofore, the Executive Committee has continued to direct and protect the interests of the Society in the interim between one annual meeting and the next. In order to do this, the Executive Committee convened six times during the past year, in January, May, June, July, September and October. One of the most important items of business considered at these meetings was the revised constitution proposed by B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., ScD., at the last annual meeting and referred to the Executive Committee for revision, if necessary, before its presentation for final action at this meeting. The Executive Committee devoted a great deal of time and serious thought to the revision of the proposed constitution. As the proposer of the new document, Dr. Fackenthal, was absent on an extended tour through Europe and the East, and thus was unable to meet with the Committee, it was deemed proper, out of deference to Dr. Fackenthal, and to enable him to go over the entire matter with the Executive Committee, to ask the Society at this meeting to extend the time for presenting the final revision of the

Constitution for one year, until the annual meeting in 1915. The Executive Committee unanimously recommends that the Society accordingly postpones final action until next year.

During the year another volume has been added to the long and valuable list of annual publications that contain the proceedings and the papers of the Society. It is hardly necessary to state that, in value of content, in richness of illustration and in beauty of mechanical make-up, the book is a fitting companion to its many forerunners in the same series.

In view of the fact that a number of members are in arrears, it may not be out of place for the Secretary to remind the members of the following action taken by the Executive Committee at its meeting September 3, 1914: "The Treasurer is instructed to notify members in arrears that their volumes are being held for them and that, if they do not at once pay their dues so as to be able to secure the volumes, these same volumes may be sold and the said delinquent members shall thus forfeit any claim to them." It was furthermore resolved that any member, owing dues for three years to October, 1914, and not responding to this notice, shall be dropped from the roll of membership.

Last year 451 names were reported on the rolls of the Society; since that report sixteen new members were elected, three resigned, two were dropped and, as far as has come to the knowledge of the Secretary, five have died. This leaves 457 names on the roll of active membership.

The unusual prominence of the members that have passed away is worthy of note:

Edward Welles, a leading citizen of Wilkes-Barre, Pa.

Hon. James A. Beaver, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania,

Judge of the Superior Court of this State, and a former President of this Society.

Hon. George F. Baer, President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and a former President of this Society.

Hon. Christopher Heydrick, formerly a member of our National House of Representatives, and at the time of his death one of the Vice-Presidents of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman, of Reading, Pa., the veteran editor and cultured litterateur, also a former President of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

In view of the serious, nay the almost irreparable loss sustained by the Society in the death of these able and distinguished members, it may not be amiss to urge you, my colleagues of the Pennsylvania-German Society, to constitute yourselves a general committee on membership and increase the number of active names on our rolls. Thus you will strengthen the Society, increase its influence, and extend the sphere of its usefulness. Can not each one of us secure at least one new member during the coming year? I am quite sure that all of you will join the Secretary in wishing the Pennsylvania-German Society another year of unbounded prosperity and permanent progress, in which our organization may accomplish still greater things and thus achieve still greater triumphs.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Executive Committee as contained in the report of the Secretary the Society resolved to postpone action on the new constitution until such time as may suit the Executive Committee.

Treasurer's Annual Report.

Dr. J. E. Burnett Buckenham then presented the following:

Report of the Treasurer of the Pennsylvania-German Society from October 31, 1913, to November 12, 1914.

Dr.

To balance received from Dr. Julius F. Sachse, former Treasurer		$1,981.99
To annual dues received	$1,089.00	
To interest on bonds	40.00	
To publications sold	235.00	1,364.00
		$3,345.99

Cr.

Stenographer, annual meeting	2.00
Clerical services	33.88
Rent safe deposit box, Penn. Nat. Bank	5.00
Dues, Pa. Fed. Hist. Societies	2.00
Printing Volume XXII of Proceedings	810.29
Photogravure plates, Gilbo & Co.	28.75
Photographs, W. H. Rau	4.00
Electroplates, Electrotint Eng. Co.	30.33
Translating and transcribing manuscript	35.91
Expressage, postage and sundries, New Era Co.	49.66
Books, postage and sundries, J. F. Sachse	17.06
Printing, stationery and sundries	74.30
Postage and sundries	57.13
Printing half tones for Vol. XXII	98.75
Cash on hand	9.84
	$1,258.90
Balance in bank November 12, 1914	2,087.09
	$3,345.99

ASSETS.

Two $500 bonds E. & P. Co. $1,000.00
Balance in Life Fund included in active account .....$ 130.00

J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM,
Treasurer.

AUDITORS' REPORT.

In connection with the Treasurer's Report was also presented the following report of the Auditors:

TO THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY:

The Auditing Committee appointed by the President of the Society to audit the account of Dr. J. E. B. Buckenham, Treasurer, covering the period from October 31, 1913, to November 12, 1914, inclusive, report that they have examined the said report and the accounts of the Treasurer for said period, and find them correct both as to items of charge and discharge, principal and income, contained therein.

ULYSSES S. KOONS,
ALFRED PERCIVAL SMITH,
GEO. LEWIS PLITT,
Auditing Committee.

Both the report of the Treasurer and the report of the Auditors were received and approved by formal motion.

DEATH OF COL. THOMAS C. ZIMMERMAN.

At this time the attention of the members was called to the death of Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman, whose funeral was taking place in the neighboring city of Reading at the very time of the annual meeting. Sincere words of eulogy were spoken by H. Winslow Fegley, of Reading; Benjamin M. Nead, Esq., of Harrisburg; and Rev. Theodore

E. Schmauk, D.D., of Lebanon. In accordance with a formal resolution the Executive Committee later appointed Messrs. Nead and Fegley who reported the subjoined minute which was adopted by the Executive Committee and is inserted here for permanent record.

COLONEL THOMAS CADWALLADER ZIMMERMAN.

The undersigned committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania-German Society to prepare and report a minute upon the death of Colonel Zimmerman beg leave to report as follows:

Thomas Cadwallader Zimmerman was born in Lebanon, Pennsylvania, January 23, 1838. Here he spent his boyhood days and received his education in the public schools.

As a Newspaper Man.

At the age of thirteen Mr. Zimmerman entered the office of the *Lebanon Courier* as a printer's apprentice. After serving his time there he went to the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, where he remained until 1856, when he entered the office of the *Berks and Schuylkill Journal* at Reading as a journeyman printer. Three years later, in 1859, he engaged as a printer on the state laws in the establishment of Dr. Robert Gibbs, at Columbia, South Carolina. The following year he returned to Reading, and became connected with the *Berks and Schuylkill Journal.* When the proprietor of that *Journal,* Mr. Knabb, shortly after was elected postmaster of Reading, Mr. Zimmerman became his clerk, which position he held until Mr. Knabb's retirement in 1865. Mr. Zimmerman then became associated as co-proprietor with Mr. Knabb in the publication of the *Berks and Schuylkill Journal,* which afterwards, in '69, absorbed

the *Reading Times,* and two years later consolidated with the *Evening Dispatch,* under the name of the *Times and Dispatch.* The Reading Times Publishing Company was organized in 1897, when Mr. Zimmerman was named as president and editor. From his newspaper work Col. Zimmerman retired in October, 1908.

What the newspaper fraternity thought of Col. Zimmerman as editor and proprietor of a newspaper can not be better voiced than in the language used by the Memorial Committee appointed by the Newspaper Fraternity of Reading at the time of Col. Zimmerman's death:

"In the death of Thomas C. Zimmerman the newspaper fraternity of Reading has lost a valued friend, who for many years was one of its most talented members. Enterprising and aggressive in the journalistic field, and an able and versatile writer, he made his impress upon the community in which he led an honored life for more than half a century. His literary genius was of a high order. A poet of natural instinct, he left many choice expressions of the sentiments of his kindly feelings. His translations of German masterpieces were so well rendered as to have given him lasting fame, while his skill in the rendition of English poems into the Pennsylvania German vernacular was equally meritorious. He was an earnest and indefatigable worker in behalf of perpetuating the history and traditions of the Pennsylvania Germans, and gave valuable aid in the organization of the Pennsylvania German Society of which he was one of the most distinguished presidents. As an enthusiastic nature lover he was a frequent visitor to points of interest in the vicinity of his adopted home, and called attention to their remarkable picturesqueness in imperishable words. Chosen to serve in boards of great public importance, he attended to all the duties incumbent upon him with ability and fidelity. A man among men he was best known by his warm friendship and generous, affectionate disposition. His departure is sincerely mourned by a large circle of friends and acquaintances. 'After life's fitful

fever, he sleeps well,' and of his passing so gently from this earth it can be said, in his favorite lines:

"So fades a summer cloud away;
So sinks the gale when storms are o'er;
So gently shuts the eye of day;
So dies a wave along the shore."

As a Historian and Literary Man.

Very early in life Mr. Zimmerman began his reading, both of prose and poetry. He had a great talent for translating, and he made his translations one of the prominent features of his newspaper. Many translations from the German classics into English appeared from time to time.

One of his most noted translations was the Prussian National Battle Hymn, which appeared in the *Berlin* (Germany) *Times,* with a half-tone portrait of the author of the translation. Very good work was also done by Mr. Zimmerman by his translations of English classics into Pennsylvania German. Among the first of these was Clement C. Moore's "'Twas the Night Before Christmas." His most noteworthy translation was that of Luther's Battle Hymn, which attracted the attention of eminent divines, professors, publicists, poets, historians and others throughout the land.

He was also the author of the official hymn used by the Berks County Historical Society at the Sesqui-Centennial Celebration, and also of the memorial hymn sung at the unveiling of the McKinley monument in the City Park at Reading. The published collection of Col. Zimmerman's translations he called "Olla Podrida," and it has an exceedingly wide circulation.

Public Activities.

Mr. Zimmerman was for many years trustee of the board of the State Asylum at Wernersville. He was a director of the Reading Free Public Library; he was a member of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections; president of the Pennsylvania Association of Superintendents and Trustees of Insane Asylums; one of the founders and president of the Pennsylvania-German Society (1908); one of the founders and member of the Historical Society of Berks County; Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Chautauqua Association.

As a magazine writer he was interesting and prolific; one of his latest productions being "Glimpse of Camp Life; a Day and Night with Campers on the Susquehanna," published in the *Mountain and Stream Journal.*

As a public speaker Mr. Zimmerman was well known and much sought after, on any and all occasions, but particularly at historical events.

He was selected to write the memorial ode for the dedication of the McKinley monument at Reading in 1905. This ode was sung by a large chorus.

In recognition of his literary successes, the degree of Doctor of the Humanities was conferred upon him by Muhlenberg College in 1904.

His Military Record.

Col. Zimmerman had a brief career as a soldier during the War of the Rebellion. He was a member of Company C, 42d Penna. Volunteers.

His Domestic Life.

Col. Zimmerman was happy in the choice of his vocation, which he enjoyed to the fullest, and his home life was

ideal. He was married to Tamsie T. Kauffman, of Reading, on the 11th of June, 1867. She died a few years ago, leaving the Colonel in loneliness, but his cure for this was his love of nature. He enjoyed mountain and stream and beautiful country side, and it was his habit for nearly forty years to take long walks daily into the country.

Col. Zimmerman took ill on Wednesday, October 28, 1914. He was taken to the hospital from his residence at 150 N. Fifth Street, Reading, where his condition became critical. He died Monday, November 9, 1914.

His zeal in forwarding the interests and his love for the work of the Pennsylvania-German Society were notable. We shall miss his cheerful personality, his valuable advice, and his diligent service. So it is fitting that this Memorial Tribute should be entered upon our minutes.

Respectfully submitted,

BENJAMIN MATTHIAS NEAD,

H. WINSLOW FEGLEY,

Committee.

PRESIDENT'S ANNUAL ADDRESS.

The President of the Society, Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., then delivered the following address:

IT is just twenty-four years ago. It was in November, 1890, when the late Dr. W. H. Egle, the State Librarian at Harrisburg, consulted with me, at a meeting of the Pennsylvania Historical Society at Philadelphia, upon the advisability of forming a patriotic hereditary society from the descendants of the early German and Swiss emigrants to Pennsylvania upon the same lines as the lately formed Society of the Sons of the Revolution, from which so many Pennsylvania-Germans were debarred, as it was

their ancestors who had helped to feed and clothe the patriot army, but had not given any military service.

The outcome of these suggestions was that an article appeared in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* advocating the formation of a hereditary Patriotic Society by the descendants of the Early German and Swiss Settlers of Pennsylvania. This proposition was at once taken up by various newspapers in eastern Pennsylvania, notably by the *Lebanon Daily Report* and the *New Era* of Lancaster.

This resulted in a correspondence upon the subject between Dr. W. H. Egle and one of the editors of the *New Era,* at Lancaster. The result was that Dr. Egle came to Lancaster on February 14, 1891, and in the editorial rooms of the *New Era,* met Rev. John S. Stahr, Rev. Max Hark, Professor Buehrle, E. O. Lyte and F. R. Diffenderffer, who had been invited to meet him.

After a full and free discussion of the whole question, it was decided to invite a number of representative men in the German counties of eastern Pennsylvania to an informal conference in the city of Lancaster, on the 26th day of February, 1891.

This meeting was held in the study of Rev. J. Max Hark at the Moravian parsonage. Nine counties were represented by sixteen representative men, who were the actual founders of this Society.

Carbon County—E. H. Rauch.

Chester County—Julius F. Sachse.

Dauphin County—W. H. Egle, E. W. S. Parthemore, Maurice C. Eby.

Lancaster County—J. Max Hark, H. A. Brickenstein, Frank R. Diffenderffer.

Lebanon County—Theodore E. Schmauk, Lee L. Grumbine.

Lehigh County—Edwin Albright, A. R. Horne.

Luzerne County—F. K. Levan.

Northampton County—Jeremiah S. Hess, Paul de Schweinitz.

York County—Hiram Young.

Of these early pioneers, there are now but four surviving members of the Society—viz., Schmauk, Diffenderffer, Hess and Sachse. At this meeting there was considerable discussion as to the name and objects of the proposed Society, when it was resolved that a general call be issued for a convention, using the name Pennsylvania-German Society, to be held in the city of Lancaster on the 15th day of April, 1891.

When the convention held in the court house at Lancaster was called to order it was found that 16 counties were represented by 31 delegates, viz.,

Dauphin County—W. H. Egle, E. W. S. Parthemore, Maurice C. Eby.

Lancaster County—R. K. Buehrle, H. A. Brickenstein, F. R. Diffenderffer, John S. Stahr, J. Max Hark, E. O. Lyte.

Berks County—T. C. Zimmerman, George F. Baer, H. A. Muhlenberg.

Lehigh County—A. R. Horne, Edwin Albright.

Northampton County—Paul de Schweinitz, Jeremiah S. Hess.

York County—Hiram Young.

Lebanon County—L. L. Grumbine, S. P. Heilman, Theodore E. Schmauk, Grant Weidman.

Chester County—Julius F. Sachse.

Erie County—Benjamin Whitman.

Cumberland County—C. P. Humrich.

Franklin County—Benjamin M. Nead.

Adams County—Daniel Eberly.
Carbon County—E. H. Rauch.
Luzerne County—F. K. Levan.
Centre County—James A. Beaver.
Washington County—Boyd Crumrine.
Philadelphia County—S. W. Pennypacker.

At this meeting the status of the Society and its membership was finally determined, and the constitution adopted.

This document sets forth (and I especially wish to impress upon all present, who are not members of our Society) that this organization is strictly a Native American organization with no entanglements with any foreign power.

We are not less Americans because our ancestors came from the German Fatherland over 115 years ago, to these western wilds, settled here; cleared the forests, and turned the wilderness into fertile fields, suffered under the incursions of the savages, who were incited to fury by the French and English, and later fought for the independence of their adopted country, and were important factors in establishing the American government under the present constitution.

It must not be forgotten that it was Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, a Pennsylvania-German, who was the first speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and that of the two Pennsylvanians in the Hall of Fame, in the Capitol at Washington, one, Major General Peter Muhlenberg, is of Pennsylvania origin; some of whose descendants are members at present.

Many of the early German settlers were of religious faiths which opposed the bearing of arms, but it did not forbid them from nursing the sick and wounded soldiers

back to health, or if they died giving them a Christian burial, as shown by the records of Bethlehem and Ephrata in Pennsylvania. Then again it was these very German settlers and their children, who clothed and fed the American army, during the critical period, while they were in winter quarters upon the bleak hillsides at Valley Forge, in the Memorable Winter of 1777–1778.

The German counties of eastern Pennsylvania were the granaries of the American Army, whenever the tide of the conflict surged to this vicinity.

Bancroft has well said of the Germans in Pennsylvania: "Neither they nor their descendants have laid claim to all that is their due." They have permitted their more aggressive neighbors to deny them a proper place even on the historic page.

It is the aim and privilege of the Pennsylvania-German Society to controvert the slanders so ruthlessly made against the race, and place it in its proper light before the community at large.

But to return to our history, the first annual meeting was held at Harrisburg, October 14, 1891—nine papers were read upon different subjects by prominent speakers; during the following year 1892, a mid-summer meeting was held at Mt. Gretna, July 18, 1892, at which a paper was read upon "The True Heroes of Provincial Pennsylvania." It is to be regretted that these summer meetings were not kept up.

The second annual meeting was held at Lebanon, October 12, 1892. Four historical papers were read at this meeting, followed by eight addresses at the banquet in the evening. Monday, July 17, 1893, was celebrated as Pennsylvania-German Day at the Pennsylvania Chatauqua at Mt. Gretna. The volume of PROCEEDINGS for this

year contains a list of members with short biographical notes wherever obtainable; 164 in number. This volume also contains the first installment of church records, viz., Trinity Lutheran Church of Lancaster.

The third annual meeting was held at York, October 11, 1893. Five historical papers were read, one by the venerable Rev. Dr. J. G. Morris, president of the Maryland Historical Society and who was the son of a Revolutionary officer, an "actual son of the Revolution." In the evening five addresses were made at the banquet. In 1894 Pennsylvania-German Day was again observed at Mt. Gretna, July 19, 1894—95 additional biographical sketches of members were also published in this volume.

The fourth annual meeting was held at Reading, October 3, 1894. There were two papers read at this meeting, the chief addresses, nine in number, were delivered at the banquet in the evening.

The fifth annual meeting was held in the historic city of Bethlehem, October 6, 1895. It was at this meeting that the insignia of the Society was adopted. At the meeting there was but a single paper and poem read, the principal addresses being at the banquet held at the old Historic Sun Inn.

Up to this period the papers presented at the annual meetings of the Pennsylvania-German Society were of a disconnected and more or less desultory character; at the sixth annual meeting of the Society at Philadelphia, October 25, 1896, the true work of the Pennsylvania-German Society materialized; this was the beginning of a narrative and critical history of the German influence in the settlement and development of the great commonwealth of Pennsylvania upon the same lines as Justin Winsor's critical History of North America.

It was our fellow member, the late Dr. Stille, former prevost of the University of Pennsylvania, historian and scholar, who said: "Of all the races which settled on the soil of Pennsylvania, the German form a very important part of the bed-rock of the civilization of the state."

What can a man know of that civilization who is ignorant of the special history of the Pennsylvania-Germans? Much that is falsely called history has been written without such knowledge.

It is this lacking knowledge which the Pennsylvania-German Society seeks to supply, by this series of monographs, each one by an acknowledged authority upon his subject, and forming a complete volume by itself; no other of the patriotic hereditary societies can show a historical series equal to these 25 publications issued under the auspices of the executive committee of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

This series of our PROCEEDINGS is to be found in a number of the great libraries of our colleges and cities, and are quoted as the authority upon Pennsylvania-German history.

A number of sections of this great work remain to be written, for which we are looking to some of the younger members of this Society.

Abstracts from two sections of this great work were read at the annual meeting, October 25, 1896.

1. The "Fatherland" showing the part it bore in the discovery, exploration and development of the western continent, with special reference to this Commonwealth. This section consists of 224 pages, 19 plates, with two maps and numerous illustrations in the text.

2. The German exodus to England in 1709, by Frank

Reid Diffenderffer—157 pages, 16 plates and many illustrations in text.

These two monographs are published in Volume VII of our PROCEEDINGS, fully illustrated with portraits, maps, views and facsimiles.

From that time on there have been published one or two contributions of this great work by some of the most profound Pennsylvania German Historical Students in Pennsylvania, 23 chapters in addition to the two named have been published—each one a complete volume by itself; a number of these books are already out of print. We will give here a short résumé of the titles: Any one who wants a complete itemized list of our publications is referred to the descriptive list, lately issued by our Treasurer, Dr. J. E. B. Buckenham, which can be had for the asking.

Part 3: German Emigration to America, 1709–1740, by Rev. H. E. Jacobs, D.D.

Part 4: Settlement of Germantown, by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.

Part 5: German Emigration from New York, by Rev. Matthias H. Richards, D.D.

Part 6: Domestic Life of the Pennsylvania-German Pioneer, by Rev. F. J. F. Schantz, D.D.

Part 7: German Emigration into Pennsylvania, 1700–1775, Part 2, Redemptioners, by Frank Reid Diffenderffer.

Part 8: German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers, by George N. Falkenstein.

Part 9: Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638–1800, by Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D.

Part 10: Reformed Church in Pennsylvania, by Joseph H. Dubbs, D.D.

Part 11: The Music of the Ephrata Cloister, by Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D.

Part 12: Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, by H. W. Kriebel.

Part 13: American History from German Archives, by J. G. Rosengarten.

Part 14: Daniel Falckner's Curieuse Nachricht, by Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D.

Part 15: Pennsylvania-German in the French and Indian War, by H. M. M. Richards.

Part 16: Wreck of the Ship New Era, by Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D.

Part 17: Gov. Joseph Hiester, A Historical Sketch, by H. M. M. Richards.

Part 18: Pennsylvania-German in the Revolutionary War, by H. M. M. Richards.

Part 19: Diary of a Voyage from Rotterdam to Philadelphia in 1728, by Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D.

Part 20: A Brief History of the Colony of New Sweden, by Carolus David Arfwedson, 1825.

Part 21: An Account of the Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania by Rush, with annotations by Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D.

Part 22: Early German American Newspapers, by Daniel Miller.

Part 23: The Lutheran Church in New Hanover, by Rev. J. J. Kline.

Part 24: The Wayside Inns on the Lancaster Roadside, by J. F. Sachse.

Part 25: The Pennsylvania-German in the Settlement of Maryland, by D. W. Nead.

In addition to these monographs there have been printed

a number of early baptismal, marriage and burial records, which are of great value to the genealogist, as well as a number of other contributions not in the line of our critical history.

Referring again to our annual meetings, they have been held in thirteen different cities in the state—viz.: Lancaster three, Harrisburg three, Philadelphia three, Allentown two, Lebanon two, Reading two, Bethlehem two, York two and one each at Ephrata, Easton, Norristown, Germantown and Riegelsville.

Among the following list of Presidents of the Pennsylvania-German Society will be found two governors, two generals, three judges, one naval officer, one brigade surgeon, one U. S. postmaster general, one superintendent of public instruction, five college presidents, seven prominent clergymen of different denominations, one great railroad president and several lawyers and journalists, viz.:

1891—William Henry Egle.
1892—Henry L. Fisher.
1893—George F. Baer.
1894—Rev. George C. Heckman.
1895—Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.
1896—Frank R. Diffenderffer.
1897—Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk.
1898—Rev. Nathan C. Schaeffer.
1899—E. W. S. Parthemore.
1900—Rev. F. J. F. Schantz.
1901—Rev. Thomas Conrad Porter (died in office).
1901—Prof. Charles H. Himes.
1902—Rev. Joseph Henry Dubbs.
1903—Rev. Joseph A. Seiss.
1904—Rev. John S. Stahr.

1905—Hon. James A. Beaver.
1906—Hon. Gustav A. Endlich.
1907—Benjamin M. Nead.
1908—Hon. John Wanamaker.
1909—Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman.
1910—John E. Roller.
1911—Rev. H. E. Jacobs.
1912—Lieut. H. M. M. Richards.
1913—Benjamin F. Fackenthal.
1914—Julius F. Sachse.

Surely a list of which any organization may well be proud.

Of the twenty-five members, honored with the presidential office, fifteen are still alive; ten have since died; one, Rev. Thomas Conrad Porter, D.D., died while in office.

The membership of our Society, from a mere handful at the time of organization, has grown to upwards of 500 members. It is not confined to the eastern counties of our state alone, as is occasionally charged. From Massachusetts to Oregon in the west; from Canada in the north, even down to Peru in South America.

In our territories even in the Philippines there are prominent men, who are proud to wear the rosette and insignia of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

The term of office of the President for the year 1913–14 expires to-day, who is the only member of the organization who has served continuously as an officer of this Society from its organization: twenty-three years as Treasurer and one year as President.

It is with great pleasure that I turn over the office and gavel to one of Lancaster's most honored citizens. In his

term will come the Silver Jubilee of the Society, and the retiring officer feels sure that the Society under his leadership will flourish under his administration.

Thanking the members of the Pennsylvania-German Society for the honors they have bestowed upon me, and the executive committee for the support given me during the past twenty-four years, I can but express the hope and wish that the next quarter of a century may prove even more prosperous than the past, and that those of our successors who are present at the Golden Jubilee may have pleasant memories of the pioneer "hewers of wood and drawers of water" who conceived the plan and laid the foundations for the Pennsylvania-German Patriotic Hereditary Society.

Report of Committee on Bibliography.

The Committee on Bibliography, through its Chairman, Dr. S. P. Heilman, reported as follows:

To The Pennsylvania-German Society:

Your Committee on an Index of Pennsylvania-German Dialect Literature, authorized in the year 1908 to be appointed and actualy appointed in the year 1910, begs to report at this time, supplemental to former reports annually made since its first appointment, that very little progress has been made on this large and valuable project since our first and extended report made to the Society at its annual meeting held in the city of Harrisburg, October 20, 1911, at which time manuscript matter pertaining to said Index to the extent of about 400 pages was submitted along with the report made by our Committee at that time.

This want of progress was, or is, due to two reasons, namely, to a subsequent enlargement of the scope of the

Index along lines suggested by the gentleman authorized by your Society to review the matter then in manuscript form, the Rev. T. E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D., which suggested enlargement required further research and along new lines, and for the further reason that the Committee's editor, Prof. H. H. Reichard, Ph.D., in the meantime, and for a period of about three years, had taken up his residence, and was exclusively engaged in educational work, in the State of Illinois, far removed from his former sources of reference and information as to matter he needed, not only as to the enlarged lines he was to work out but as well also towards fully completing the Index as originally planned and in manuscript, partially completed, as submitted to your Society at Harrisburg in 1911.

We can now, however, report that Prof. Reichard has returned to the east, and again is in touch with, and near to, his former supply sources of reference and information material, that he is again actively at work on the Index project, that he is pushing the work with all possible expedition, and is giving assurance that within a comparatively short time, probably soon after this annual meeting of the Society, the manuscript of the Index as originally planned but now enlarged and improved, will be fully completed, and be ready to be submitted to your Executive Committee, in view of all of which we respectfully ask for a continuance of our Committee.

We also and again reiterate our abiding confidence in the inestimable value that is to accrue to your Society in the acquisition and possession of an Index of Pennsylvania-German Dialect Literature as comprehensive, complete and accurate as the finished manuscript shortly to be submitted we know positively will be and our belief that the delays incident to the compiling and additional research

work required as to this Index project will be fully compensated in the satisfaction that will be afforded the members of your Society when they come to study and peruse the Index after its completion and publication.

Respectfully submitted,

S. P. HEILMAN,
Chairman.

LEBANON, PA.,
November 13, 1914.

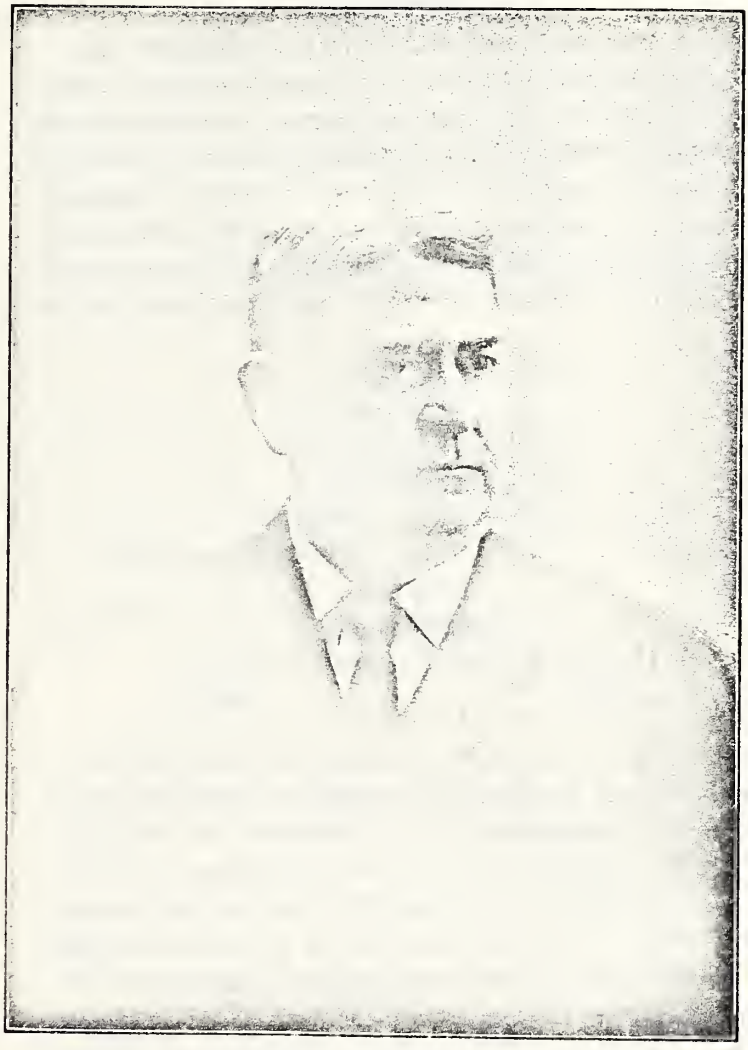
ELECTION OF OFFICERS.

The following nominations, as suggested by the Executive Committee, were presented by Dr. Schmauk: President, Hon. William U. Hensel, LL.D., Litt.D., of Lancaster, Pa.; Vice-Presidents, William F. Muhlenberg, M.D., LL.D., of Reading, Pa., Hon. Harman Yerkes, of Doylestown, Pa.; Treasurer, J. E. Burnett Buckenham, M.D., of Chestnut Hill, Pa; Executive Committee, Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D., of Pottstown, Pa., Charles R. Roberts, Esq., of Allentown, Pa., Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D., of Philadelphia, Pa.

On motion duly made and seconded, the nominations were closed and the Secretary was instructed to cast the ballot of the Society for the above-mentioned nominees.

The Secretary having cast the formal ballot of the Society for the said nominees, the President declared them the duly elected officers for the ensuing year.

The meeting was then adjourned till half-past two o'clock in the afternoon to partake of the luncheon tendered by the newly-elected President of the Society, Hon. William U. Hensel, at the Hamilton Club of Lancaster.



WILLIAM UHLER HENSEL.

B. DEC. 4, 1851; D. FEB. 27, 1915.

TWENTY-SIXTH PRESIDENT OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY.

Luncheon.

The rathskeller of the Hamilton Club was crowded with a happy company of Pennsylvania-Germans and their friends, gathered to enjoy the hospitality of Hon. William U. Hensel, the newly-elected President of the Pennsylvania-German Society. The rustic decorations, consisting of corn-stalks, pumpkins and other products of Lancaster County rural life, contributed not a little to the enjoyment of the following typical Pennsylvania-German menu.

Menu.

Scrapple
Liver and Onions
Sauer Kraut
Schnitz and Knepf
Tripe and Oysters Souse
Red Beets
Dutch Cheese
Smear Case and Apple Butter
Cider Coffee

All the ladies and gentlemen fortunate enough to attend were unanimous in declaring the luncheon one of the most enjoyable and successful social entertainments ever tendered the members of the Society. The only thing that marred the perfect enjoyment of the occasion was the absence of the host Dr. Hensel, the state of whose health had necessitated a prolonged sojourn in the South. All present united in the sincere hope and prayer that he might speedily be restored to his usual full measure of health and strength.

Afternoon Session.

After the delightful luncheon at the Hamilton Club the Society reconvened in the lecture room of the First Reformed Church and listened to a paper on "The Condition of Pennsylvania During Braddock's Expedition," presented by Dr. Julius F. Sachse.

The reading of this paper was followed by a series of stereopticon views of old Germantown, presented and explained by Dr. Sachse.

One of the most interesting and instructive features of the afternoon's programme was the exhibition of "Stiegel Glass" with a delightful descriptive talk by Mrs. Albert K. Hostetter, of Lancaster, Pa., the wife of the first Vice-President of the Society. Mrs. Hostetter has gathered one of the finest collections of "Stiegel Glass" in the United States, of which collection she showed many rare and beautiful specimens. The explanatory lecture proved Mrs. Hostetter to be an enthusiastic collector and a thorough student of the subject. After this unique intellectual treat the meeting was adjourned to prepare for the festivities of the evening.

Reception and Banquet.

A goodly company of ladies and gentlemen gathered in the spacious quarters of the Hamilton Club and spent a delightful hour in social intercourse preliminary to the annual banquet, which was set for seven o'clock in the banquet-hall of the Hamilton Club.

After grace had been said by Rev. John S. Stahr, D.D., LL.D., the following menu was enjoyed by the assembled guests:

Noodle Soup
Roast Lancaster Turkey and Cranberries
Mashed Potatoes
Dried Corn Beets
Cole Slaw
Fried Oysters and Celery Salad
Mince Pie Pumpkin Pie
Dutch Head Cheese
Ice Cream
Cakes Coffee

Benjamin M. Nead, Esq., of Harrisburg, Pa., served as toastmaster and Mayor Frank B. McClain, of Lancaster, entertained the company with several songs rendered in fine style, after which wise and witty words were spoken by Mayor McClain, Dr. Henry H. Appel, Dr. H. M. M. Richards, Ulysses S. Koons, Esq., and Henry S. Borneman, Esq. The banquet concluded with a silent toast to the memory of Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman.

Thus ended the twenty-fourth annual meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society. As the large company of guests slowly dispersed, they were unanimous in the enthusiastic expressions of their appreciation of the hospitality of President Hensel, the Hamilton Club and the citizens of Lancaster in general. The interesting and instructive programme also called forth many comments of praise. Intellectually as well as socially, therefore, the Lancaster meeting of 1914 must be regarded as one of the very best of the many good meetings of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Biographical Sketches of Deceased Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society

Hon. George F. Baer, LL.D.

Hon. James A. Beaver, LL.D.

Hon. Maurice C. Eby.

William Laubach, Esq.

Prof. Lewis S. Shimmell, Ph.D.

Hon. George Franklin Huff.

George Rueger Oberholtzer.

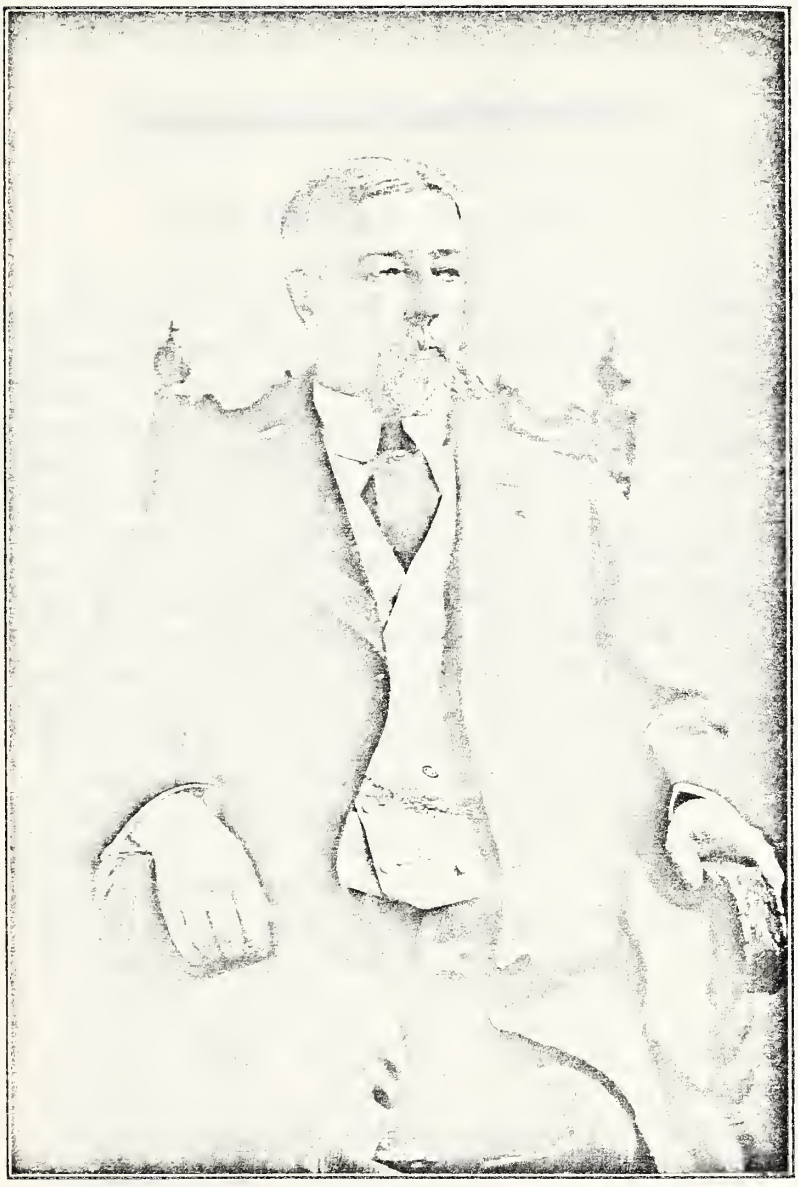
Thomas William Saeger.

Christian Edgar Titzel.

William Weis.

Col. Thomas C. Zimmerman, L.H.D.

[See minute in the Proceedings prepared by Special Committee.]



GEORGE F. BAER, LL.D.

B. SEPT. 26, 1842; D. APRIL 26, 1914.

PRESIDENT PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY 1893.

Hon. George F. Baer, LL.D.

Hon. George F. Baer belonged to the fourth generation of his family in the United States. His direct ancestor, Christopher Baer(Bar), came from Zweibruecken, Germany, with two brothers, Milchoir and Johannes, in the ship *Phoenix,* from Rotterdam, in 1743, arriving in Philadelphia, September 30 of that year. He settled in Northampton County with his wife, Katherine Wingert, and there purchased a large quantity of land, giving a farm to each of his six married children. Jacob, the youngest son, was born in what is now Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, in 1761, married, and in 1800 moved to a farm in Maryland, near Mount Savage Station, Allegheny County, where he resided until his death. Major Solomon Baer, his son by a second wife, Mary Elizabeth Hersch, was born in Lehigh County (then Northampton), in 1794, and died in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, January 12, 1882. He married Anna Maria, daughter of George Baker, who was born February 2, 1797, and died October 5, 1888. He served as constable for several years and also justice of the peace, and held every rank in the militia from captain to brigade inspector.

George Frederick Baer, the eighth child of Solomon and Anna Maria (Baker) Baer, was born in Somerset County, Pennsylvania, September 26, 1842. He attended Somerset Institute until the age of thirteen, when he entered the office of the *Somerset Democrat,* working as a typesetter for two years. Then he studied another year at

Somerset Institute, served as chief clerk and bookkeeper at the Ashtola Mills, about ten miles from Johnstown, for another year, and in the fall of 1860, entered the Sophomore class of Franklin and Marshall College, at Lancaster. His course at college was interrupted by the Civil War. With his brother Harry he purchased the newspaper on which he had served his boyhood apprenticeship, *The Somerset Democrat,* and soon was left in sole charge of it as his brother became an officer in company B, 54th Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers. During this period he continued his studies as he intended to return to college and complete his course. In August, 1862, he raised a company of volunteers which was mustered into the United States service with young Baer, not yet twenty years of age, as captain. His regiment joined the Army of the Potomac at the second battle of Bull Run and fought at Antietam, Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. Captain Baer was mustered out of service May 26, 1863, and returned to Somerset.

He at once began to read law with his brothers William and Herman and was admitted to the bar in April, 1864. On January 22, 1868, he was admitted to the bar of Berks County, establishing his office and residence in Reading, Pennsylvania. Here his practice grew rapidly. In 1870 he became counsel to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and later became a director of the same. About this time he became a trusted confidential legal adviser in Pennsylvania of J. Pierpont Morgan and was prominent in the reorganization of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company in 1893, of which company he became the President in 1901. In the words of another: "The entire system has prospered under President Baer's wise conservative policies, and he will go down in history as one of the

great railroad executives of his time." He was also largely identified with the Reading Iron Company, the Temple Iron Company, the Pennsylvania Steel and the Cambria Steel companies, the Reading Paper Mills, the Penn National Bank, the Reading Hospital, the Reading Trust Company, Penn Common, the Wyomissing Club, the Reading Free Library, and the Berkshire Club. As President of the Park Commission he was largely instrumental in securing Penn Common from the county authorities as the property of Reading. He also erected the first modern office building in Reading, a seven-story structure of eighty rooms.

During his entire public life Mr. Baer's services as lecturer and platform speaker were in frequent demand. His printed addresses delivered before colleges and learned societies, at the dedication of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument at Allentown, and before popular audiences, all show the thoughtful student of men and affairs, in whom culture and logic were happily blended. He also took a deep interest in Franklin and Marshall College, served as a trustee from 1872, and as the head of its board from 1894 to the time of his death. In 1886 the college conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) and in 1895 he was chosen Vice-President of the Alumni Association.

Although an ardent Democrat, he never accepted public office, was a strong "Gold Democrat," and by his "Appeal to Democrats" vigorously opposed William J. Bryan in his "silver heresy."

In 1866 Mr. Baer married Emily, daughter of John O. Kimmel, of Somerset, Pennsylvania, who was a most worthy and helpful companion in the active and varied interests of her prominent husband. From this union

sprang the following children: Marion, the wife of William N. Appel; Helen, the wife of William Griscom Coxe; Mary, the wife of Isaac Hiester; Emily, the widow of Frank L. Connard; and Nellie, the wife of Heber L. Smith.

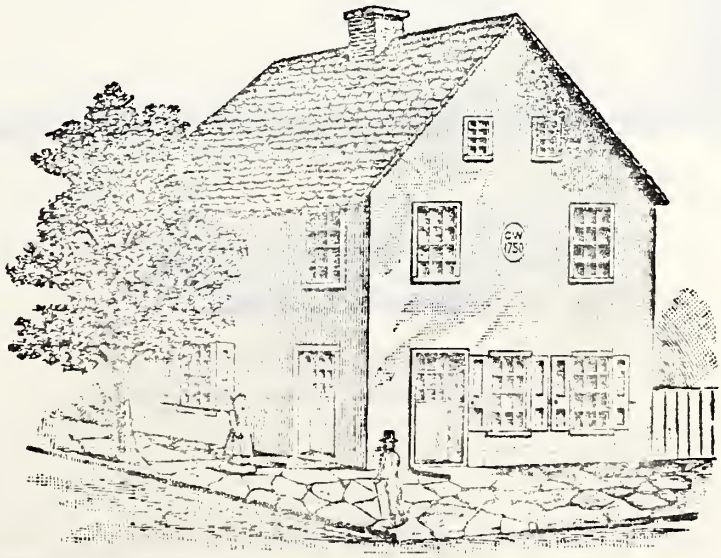
The church-home of the family was the Second Reformed Church of Reading.

Mr. Baer was one of the founders of the Pennsylvania-German Society and presided over the convention at which the formal organization was effected.

He died April 26, 1914.

As we survey the life and achievements of George F. Baer, the most prominent trait in his character shows itself in his predominant industry. He was a tireless worker, and in his own life illustrated the spirit of one of his best known addresses, "Work is Worship." He attained distinction and success not through influence or favor, but through his own indomitable will and strong belief in himself, supported by an industry that was well-nigh tireless. Truly in his life, character and achievements George Frederick Baer personified the sterling qualities of his Pennsylvania-German ancestry, by the cultivation of which qualities he became one of the leading citizens of his state and his nation.

G. T. E.





James A. Beaver

B. OCT. 21, 1837; D. JAN. 31, 1914.

PRESIDENT PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY 1905.

Hon. James Addams Beaver, LL.D.

James Addams Beaver was born at Millerstown, Perry County, Pa., October 21, 1837. His father, Jacob Beaver (b. Nov. 28, 1805–d. Aug. 17, 1840), was a son of Peter Beaver (b. Dec. 25, 1782–d. Aug. 26, 1849), who married Elizabeth Gilbert and was a son of George Beaver (b. May 1, 1755–d. Jan. 1836), who married Catharine Kieffer and was a son of George Beaver.

The mother of the subject of this sketch was Ann Eliza Addams (b. Jan. 30, 1812–d. June 29, 1880), whose paternal grandmother was Barbara Ruth, of Berks County, and her maternal grandmother was Lydia Miller (b. Jan. 2, 1791–d. March 5, 1819), of the same county, whose mother was Elizabeth Feather, the daughter of Maria or Mary Levan.

The Beavers came from Alsace in 1740, the Kieffers came from Germany in 1748, and the Gilberts also came from Germany. Peter Beaver was a clergyman in the Methodist Episcopal Church and George Beaver served in the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion under Col. Anthony Wayne in the American Revolution. All the greatgrandfathers of James Addams Beaver, George Beaver, Samuel Gilbert, Isaac Addams, and Jacob Miller served in the Revolutionary War. William Addams, another ancestor, came from England and laid out the town of Adamstown, Lancaster County, Pa., about 1761.

James Addams Beaver was graduated from Jefferson College, Canonsburg, Pa., in 1856, read law and was ad-

mitted to the bar in 1858, practicing from 1859 to 1861, when he entered the service of his country and became Second Lieutenant of the Second Pennsylvania Infantry. On October 21, 1861, he was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the Forty-fifth Pennsylvania Infantry and on September 8, 1862, he became Colonel of the 148th Pennsylvania Infantry. He was breveted Brigadier-General of Volunteers for highly meritorious and distinguished conduct throughout the campaign, particularly for valuable services at Cold Harbor while commanding a brigade, and was honorably discharged, December 22, 1864. He was shot through the body at Chancellorsville, May 3, 1863, was shot in the side at Petersburg, Va., in June, 1864, and lost a leg at Ream's Station, August 24, 1864.

Upon his return from the war he resumed the practice of law at Bellefonte, Pa., and married Mary A., the daughter of Hon. H. N. McAllister on December 26, 1865.

From 1870 to 1887 he served as Major-General of the National Guard of Pennsylvania, was defeated for Governor of Pennsylvania by Robert E. Pattison in 1882, but was elected to succeed him in 1886, and served as Judge of the Superior Court of his native state from 1896 till his death, which occurred January 31, 1914. He was president of the board of trustees of Pennsylvania State College, a delegate to the National Republican Convention in 1880, vice-moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1888 and 1895, a member of the President's Commission to investigate the War Department in 1898, and a delegate to the General Missionary Conference, Edinburgh, in 1910.

He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws

(LL.D.) from Hanover College, Indiana, Dickinson College, Pennsylvania, and the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

Governor Beaver was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society, January 11, 1893, and served as president of the same in 1905.

G. T. E.



Hon. Maurice C. Eby.

Maurice C. Eby was born at Middletown, Pennsylvania, in May, 1846. He was the eldest son of David Rupley Eby and Elizabeth Gross Eby. Before he was one year old, his parents removed with him to Harrisburg, which city continued to be his home for the remainder of his life.

He was graduated from Lafayette College, and after leaving college he took a tour abroad, and was absent for more than three years. Most of his time abroad was spent at Geneva, Switzerland, and Carlsruhe, Baden. To pleasure and sight-seeing he added the more serious business of acquiring a practical knowledge of the German language, visiting at intervals many of the old world cities.

He began his business career at Harrisburg as a merchant in 1871.

As a young man he was the patron of manly sports, and withal a practical reformer. A lover of animate nature, he could not endure the ill treatment or abuse of the faithful beast of burden and the domestic animals about him. He was officially appointed an agent for the prevention of cruelty to children and animals, and he did not hesitate to enforce the law against cruelty to dumb animals and the ill treatment of children. He was known as a practical and kind-hearted agent of these societies.

In public life he was to a degree active. As Mayor and chief executive of the city of Harrisburg during the years 1893, 4 and 5, he served conscientiously and faithfully,



MAURICE C. EBY.

B. MAY, 1846; D. APRIL 4, 1914.

retiring gracefully, with no other aim for the rest of his life, as he himself put it, than "To remain a good citizen, obeying all the laws of the Commonwealth and the ordinances of the city; determined to perform a good deed daily, and make a blade of grass grow where none grew before."

Mr. Eby was an active member of the Harrisburg Board of Trade, and became widely interested in municipal affairs. He served as president of the Board of Trade during the year 1901, and remained interested in the affairs of Harrisburg until his death.

He was a lover of the past, and an absorbing reader of everything that pertained to it. He loved to wander through the foothills of history, but never arose to the higher planes of research and constructive work, although he was a valuable adviser and instructive conversationalist in that domain.

He was an active member of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, for upwards of twenty-five years. He was one of the founders, and for a number of years a faithful member of the executive committee of the Pennsylvania-German Society.

Mr. Eby was unmarried. He had scores of friends. His humane disposition, large-heartedness, and hospitable traits endeared him to all. He died, after some period of acute suffering, on Saturday, April 4, 1914, at the age of sixty-eight.

Germantaun:

Gedruckt bey Michael Billmeyer, 1793

William Laubach.

William Laubach, born in Plainfield Township, Northampton County, Pa., February 18, 1833, was a son of Abraham Laubach (b. Nov. 19, 1808–d. Sept. 15, 1890), whose father, Adam Laubach (b. Dec. 23, 1766), was a son of John George Laubach (b. Nov. 11, 1723), and a grandson of Christian Laubach, who was born in Germany, emigrated from the Palatinate in August, 1738, and arrived in Philadelphia, September 16, 1738.

The mother of William Laubach was Lydia Beidelman (b. April 12, 1809–d. April 30, 1895), a daughter of Abraham Beidelman (b. Nov. 26, 1772–d. Sept. 11, 1857), a son of Samuel Beidelman (b. May 30, 1750–d. April 16, 1836), whose father, Elias Beidelman (b. Sept. 27, 1707–d. Oct. 25, 1781), was born in the Palatinate and emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1730.

While a boy William Laubach attended the district school and worked on his father's farm. At the age of fifteen he took a position in a country store at Kesslersville, where he remained until 1853, when he came to Easton, Pa., and entered the store of the late Jacob Hay, then a prominent retail dealer in dry goods, with whom he remained about five years, after which he spent a year as clerk in the establishment of Jacob Rader, at that time one of the leading merchants of Easton. On April 6, 1860, he opened a dry goods store in a room 12 by 40 feet in size, on a part of the site the extensive establishment now occupies. From this humble beginning the business grew, more space was needed, one property after the other was

added, until now the firm of William Laubach and Sons occupies a business home with a frontage of one hundred and seven feet and a floor space of more than sixty thousand square feet. In 1908 the five sons of the founder of the business were taken into the partnership and the firm was incorporated under the name of William Laubach and Sons.

On Aug. 19, 1860, Mr. Laubach married Mary Frances, daughter of the late George and Annie Horn, of Easton, Pa. This union was blessed with twelve children.

Mr. Laubach was prominent as a Mason, being a member of Easton Lodge, No. 152, F. and A. M., Easton Chapter, No. 173, R. A. M., Hugh De Payens Commandery, No. 19, Knights Templar, of Easton, and Rajah Temple, of Reading.

For sixty years Mr. Laubach was an active and influential member of the First Reformed Church of Easton. He served as a member of the school board, as a director in the Northampton National Bank and as a member of the Easton Board of Trade. "He was always interested in everything which promised to uplift the business, industrial, educational, moral and spiritual welfare of the community. His counsel was often sought and his opinions were freely accepted, though he was deferential and never advanced his personal ideas except in a modest and courteous way. He was of inestimable service and held the respect and in his latter days the veneration of this entire section. He was a liberal giver to the church and his charity in this community was limited only by his good judgment."

Mr. Laubach died July 30, 1914.

He joined the Pennsylvania-German Society October 25, 1900.

G. T. E.

Prof. Lewis S. Shimmell, Ph.D.

Lewis Slifer Shimmell, born September 13, 1852, in Springfield Township, Bucks County, Pa., was a son of Levi Oberholtzer Shimmell (b. 1826–d. 1903), whose father John Shimmell (b. 1800–d. 1860) married Hannah Oberholtzer (b. 1801–d. 1878). John was a son of Christian Shimmell (d. 1828) and a grandson of George Shimmell, who died in 1800.

The mother of Lewis S. Shimmell was Mary Slifer (b. 1824–d. 1877) whose father, John Slifer (b. 1800–d. 1859), married a Miss Shelly (b. 1802–d. 1867). John Slifer's father and grandfather were also named John and the greatgrandfather was Henry, who was born in 1700 and died in 1796. George Shimmell came to America in 1753, and Henry Slifer came in 1739; both came from Switzerland.

The subject of this sketch studied at the Wadsworth, Ohio, Seminary, and was graduated from the Millersville State Normal School, in the normal course in 1875 and in the scientific course in 1877.

In 1878 he married Sarah Bare, of Bareville, Lancaster County, Pa.

In 1886, while superintendent of the schools of Huntingdon, Pa., he established *The School Gazette,* of which he was the editor for many years. In 1893 he was elected to a position in the high school of Harrisburg, Pa., which position he filled in a most satisfactory manner for nearly a score of years. In 1900 he completed postgraduate

work in pedagogy, constitutional history and American history, for which the University of Pennsylvania conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. His thesis on "Border Warfare in Pennsylvania During the Revolution" has been widely circulated. He also wrote and published three successful text-books, "The Pennsylvania Citizen," "A History of Pennsylvania," and "Our State and Nation." Of "The Pennsylvania Citizen" 120,000 copies were sold in less than ten years.

Dr. Shimmell joined the Pennsylvania-German Society on November 7, 1907.

He died March 9, 1914.

G. T. E.



Hon. George Franklin Huff.

John Frederick von Hoof emigrated From Berlin, Germany, about the year 1754. He was born July 8, 1734, and died April 26, 1816. His son was George Huff, who was born August, 1, 1779, and died February 24, 1845, and married Anna Mull. From this union sprang George Huff (b. 1813—d. 1858), the father of the subject of this sketch. The mother was Carolyne (b. September 5, 1817), daughter of Henry K. Boyer, whose father was Jacob Boyer (b. 1754—d. February 11, 1796).

George Franklin Huff was born at Norristown, Pa., July 16, 1842. He received his preliminary education in the public schools of Middletown, Pa., and later at Altoona, Pa., where he learned a trade in the car shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. At an early age he entered the banking house of William M. Lloyd and Company.

In 1867 he removed to Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, to engage in the banking business. In 1871 he married Henrietta, daughter of the late Judge Jeremiah M. Burrell, of Pennsylvania, afterwards United States District Judge and Chief Justice of Kansas by appointment of President Franklin Pierce. He was a member of the National Republican Convention in 1880, where he was one of the memorable "306," who followed the lead of Roscoe Conkling in the effort to nominate General U. S. Grant for the Presidency. Mr. Huff was president of the Keystone Coal and Coke Company, one of the largest

producers of gas and steam coal in the United States. He was also largely interested in many other business enterprises in various parts of Pennsylvania, in addition to his banking business in Greensburg, in which he had been engaged since his youth. He was also president of the Westmoreland Hospital Association.

In 1884 he was elected to the Senate of Pennsylvania, in which he represented the Thirty-ninth District for four years. He was elected to the Fifty-second Congress from the Twenty-first District, then composed of Westmoreland, Indiana, Armstrong and Jefferson Counties; was chosen Congressman-at-Large from Pennsylvania to the Fifty-fourth Congress; and was reëlected to the Fifty-eighth Congress.

After a life of such constant and varied activities he died April 18, 1912.

He was elected a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society November 1, 1906.

George R. Oberholtzer.

The ancestor of George R. Oberholtzer came from the Palatinate and arrived in America from Rotterdam on September 30, 1727. The earliest name found on Mr. Oberholtzer's application for membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society was that of Samuel Oberholtzer or Oberholtz, who died in 1748. He was the son of Martin Oberholtzer, who died in 1774. Martin's father was also called Martin, was born March 25, 1764, and died October 2, 1833. The father of Martin Oberholtzer was John Oberholser (observe the spelling), who was born February 28, 1793, and died January 24, 1875. The son of John Oberholser was Isaac Kurtz Oberholser, born May 21, 1836, and the father of George Rueger Oberholtzer, the subject of this sketch.

George Rueger Oberholtzer was born September 20, 1867, at Terre Hill, Lancaster County, Pa., and after he had received the usual preliminary education in the schools of his native county, we find him serving the United States government as observer for the United States Weather Bureau at Charlotte, North Carolina. Later we find him at Erie, Pa., where he lost his life in an ice-boat accident on February 8, 1913.

Mr. Oberholtzer was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society October 21, 1903.

G. T. E.

Thomas W. Saeger.

The name Saeger, spelled also Sager and Seger, is found in old records of Germany and Switzerland as far back as 1388, when Conrad Sager of Zug was killed by Austrians. In 1402 Burki Sager was a councillor in Bern and in 1553 John Sager was Governor of Arberg.

John Nicholas Saeger, born in Reichenbach, Bavaria, in 1694, became the ancestor of the greater part of the family in this country. With his wife, Anna Barbara, born in 1705, and their seven children he sailed from Rotterdam, Holland, in the ship Richmond and Elizabeth and arrived in Philadelphia on September 28, 1733. He settled upon a tract of 250 acres along the Coplay Creek in Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, which he secured by a warrant dated March 28, 1737. The plant of the Lehigh Portland Cement Co. is now located on this land. This land he farmed until his death, when, by will dated October 22, 1753, and probated February 5, 1762, it became the property of his two oldest sons. He was a Lutheran in faith and worshipped at the Jordan Lutheran and at the Egypt churches. He died in January, 1762, survived by ten of his thirteen children.

Jacob Saeger was born October 29, 1774, and was a farmer on a part of the old Saeger tract in Whitehall Township. In 1815 he removed to Allentown, Pennsylvania, where, with his brother Daniel, he erected a gristmill and engaged in mercantile enterprises. He married Margaret, daughter of Martin Mickley, with whom he

had eight children: Sarah, Catharine, Charles, Ann, William, Abigail, Mary and Rebecca. Abigail married Christian Pretz and Rebecca married Henry Weinsheimer, both of which gentlemen became prominent in the Lutheran Church and the mercantile life of Allentown, Pennsylvania.

William Saeger was born September 4, 1806, and later in life became an extensive dealer in grain, a manufacturer of lumber and proprietor of grist-mills. From 1862 to 1883 he served as president of the Allentown National Bank. In 1833 he married Hannah, daughter of Daniel Gangewere (b. November 12, 1809—d. June 23, 1887), with whom he had three sons: Alfred G., Jacob H., and Thomas W. William Saeger died March 10, 1893.

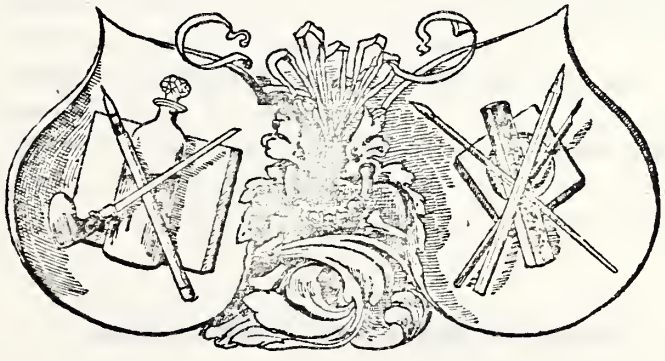
Thomas W. Saeger, the subject of this sketch, was born in Allentown, Pa., November 30, 1843. He received his earlier education in the public schools of his native city and the Allentown Academy, and was graduated in 1863, from Pennsylvania College, Gettysburg, Pa., where he heard President Lincoln deliver the speech that has since become a classic in English literature. Upon graduation he accepted a position in the Allentown Rolling Mills, but later went to Duluth, Minn., where for several years he had charge of a grain elevator. Upon his return to Allentown for a number of years he engaged in the milling business.

On January 26, 1875, he married Florence Troxell of Allentown, Pa. He died November 19, 1913. Mr. Saeger had travelled extensively in Europe, Egypt and the Holy Land and was a member of St. John's Lutheran Church of Allentown, the Livingston Club, the Lehigh Country Club, the Lehigh County Historical Society, the Pennsylvania-German Society and the Sigma Chi Fraternity.

Thomas W. Saeger was a Christian gentleman, cultured and refined, fond of literature, art and music. As a business man, he was keen and energetic, the very soul of honor; as a citizen, he was interested in all that made for the progress and the uplift of the community. He was, moreover, a man of deeply religious nature, well acquainted with the doctrines of the Lutheran Church, which he several times represented at the meetings of the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and the General Council of North America. In politics he was a Republican, but reserved the right to think for himself. For many years he was a very useful and enthusiastic member of the board of trustees of Muhlenberg College.

Mr. Saeger was elected to membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society January 15, 1897.

G. T. E.



Christian Edgar Titzel.

The ancestors of Christian Edgar Titzel came from Reiken or Recken in Germany and landed in Philadelphia in 1751.

John Jonas Rupp, born November 3, 1729, died May 21, 1801, had a son Martin Rupp, born September 15, 1769, died July 18, 1843, whose daughter Mary Rupp, born May 10, 1810, died October 1, 1882, married a Titzel, and became the mother of John Martin Titzel, born March 19, 1832, died June 16, 1905, who in turn became the father of the subject of this sketch.

Christian Edgar Titzel was born at Irwin Station, Westmoreland County, Pa., May 4, 1875. He was manager of the Lancaster County Railway and Light Company and was a prominent member of the First Reformed Church of Lancaster, Pa., as well as a highly esteemed citizen of the community. At the time of his death he was a trustee of the First Reformed Church.

He died of cerebral hemorrhage at the early age of 37 years, on March 30, 1913.

Mr. Titzel was chosen a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society November 5, 1908.

G. T. E.

William Weis.

The ancestor of William Weis came from Baden, Germany, in 1852. His grandfather on the paternal side, Johann Weis, born April 18, 1794, died June 16, 1876, was Burgomaster at Altsimonswald, Amt Waldkirch, Baden, Germany, for forty years. Burgomaster Weis had a son named Andrew, born September 7, 1829, died May 2, 1882, who was the father of the subject of this brief sketch. The mother of William Weis was Pauline Buehrer, born January 20, 1835, a daughter of Francis Xavier Buehrer, who was born in 1794, and, having been a Revolutionist in Germany, came to America in 1848 at the time that Franz Sigel and others were obliged to leave.

William Weis was born at Reading, Pa., on April 17, 1857, later became an apothecary in New York City, where he resided at No. 213 West 34th Street. He died April 1, 1912.

He had been elected to associate membership in the Pennsylvania-German Society October 20, 1899.

G. T. E.

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

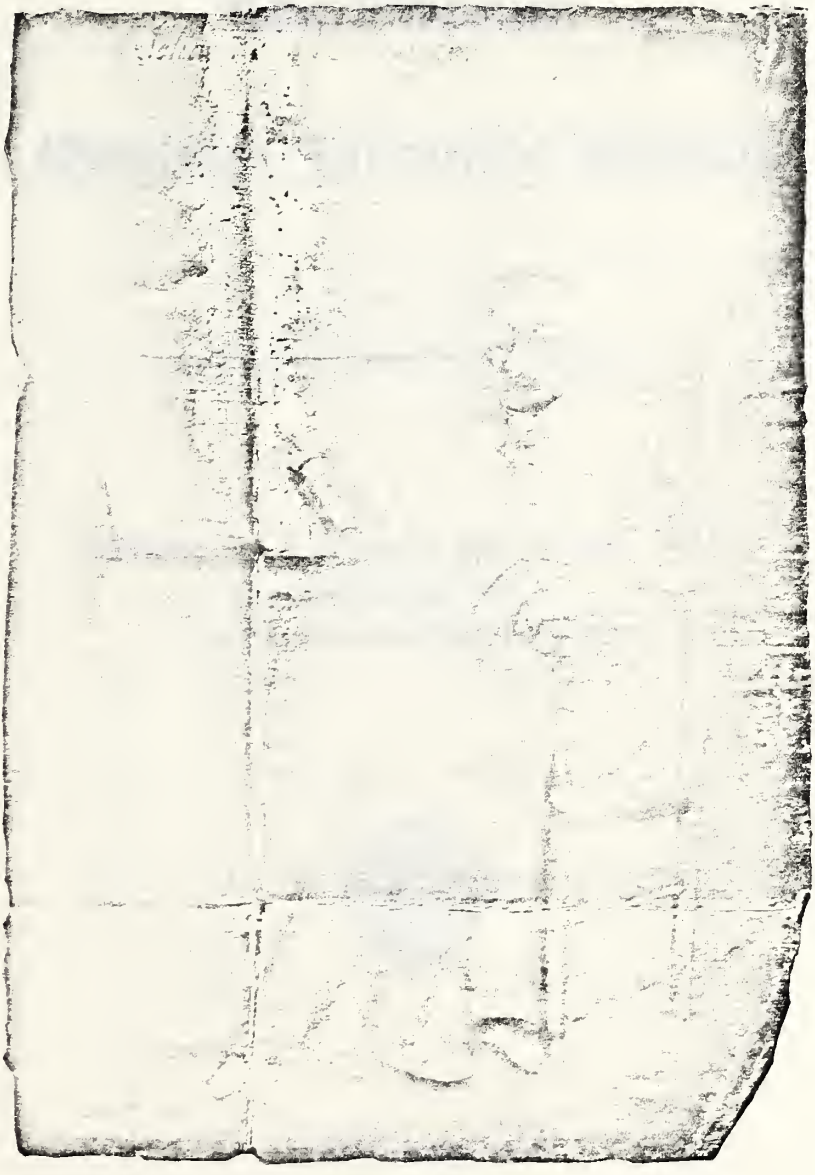
PART XXVII

THE DIARIUM OF
MAGISTER JOHANNES KELPIUS



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.
JULIUS F. SACHSE, Litt.D.
DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.
J. E. B. BUCKENHAM, M.D.



JOHANNES KELPIUS.

FROM THE ORIGINAL CANVAS BY DR. CHRISTOPHER WITT, NOW IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

The Diarium

of

Magister Johannes Kelpius

WITH ANNOTATIONS BY

JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE

PART XXVII OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY

PUBLISHED BY

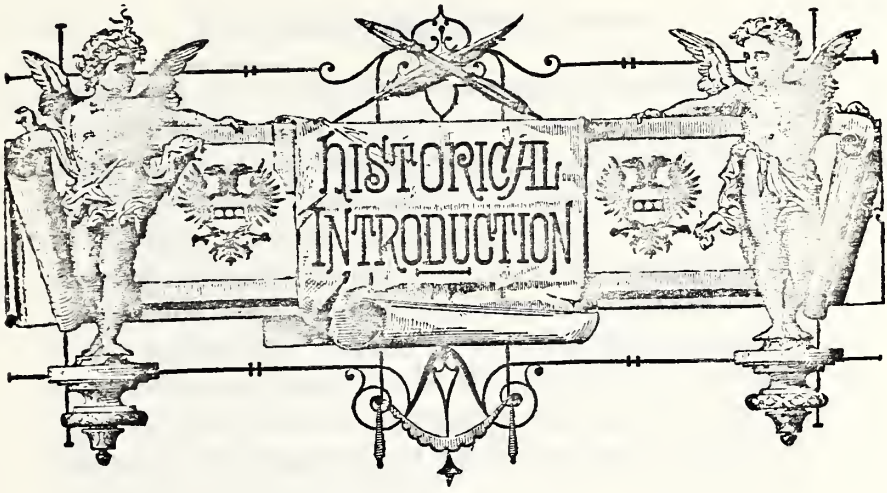
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

LANCASTER, PA.

1917

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I.

THE JOURNAL OF KELPIUS.



Magister Johannes Kelpius, the leader of the band of German Pietists who came to these shores in the year of grace 1694, and settled on the banks of the Wissahickon, will always remain one of the most picturesque characters of our early Pennsylvania-German history; the more so on account of a certain air of mystery and romance which has thus far enshrouded his personality.[1]

Kelpius and his company of German Pietists located

[1] For a full account of Kelpius, see "The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania," Philadelphia, 1895, pp. 219–250.

themselves in what was then unbroken wilderness upon the hills overlooking the Wissahickon Creek, a small stream which winds its way through rocky forest dells and valleys until it mingles its crystal waters with the Schuylkill River.

Changing the scene to the present day, the wilderness where Kelpius and his followers located in the last decade of the seventeenth century, and erected their tabernacle, is now a built-up part of the city of Philadelphia, known as the twenty-first ward, while the Wissahickon with its romantic dells, valleys and rugged hills is now a part of Philadelphia's great natural pleasure ground, known far and wide as Fairmount Park.

Unfortunately Kelpius, in his modesty, left but little written record of the great work performed by him during the fourteen long years that he lived on the banks of the romantic Wissahickon. How earnestly he sought to improve the morals and spiritual condition of the rude and heterogeneous population that was then scattered through eastern Pennsylvania, is shown by the many traditions and legends that have survived for two centuries.

By reason of his scholarly attainments, devout life, independent bearing, and, it may be said, broad humanity, together with his repeated refusals of worldly honors and civil power, that were at various times thrust upon him, the magister on the Wissahickon stands out in bold relief as a prominent example of piety and disinterestedness.

There can be but little doubt that this devout scholar, who thus voluntarily banished himself from the fatherland home and friends had many difficulties to contend with, both within and without the community, and that his position at the head of such a fraternity was anything but a sinecure. There were conflicting interests to equalize and,

J. N. J

The Lamenting Voice of the Hidden Love,

at the time
When she lay in Misery & forsaken;
and oprest by the multitude
of Her Enemies
Composed by one
In Kumber.

Mich. VII 8 9. 10

Rejoyce not against me O mine Enemy: when I fall, I shall arise; when I sit in darkness, the Lord shall be a light unto me. I will bear the indignation of the LORD, because I have sinned against him until he plead my cause, & execute judgment for me: he will bring me forth to the light, & I shall behold his righteousness. Then She that is mine enemy shall see it, and shame shall cover her which said unto me, Where is the LORD thy God? mine eyes shall behold her: now shall She be trodden down as the mire of the streets

---

Hester signifies Secret, or Hidden, & Haman, a multitude of troubles.

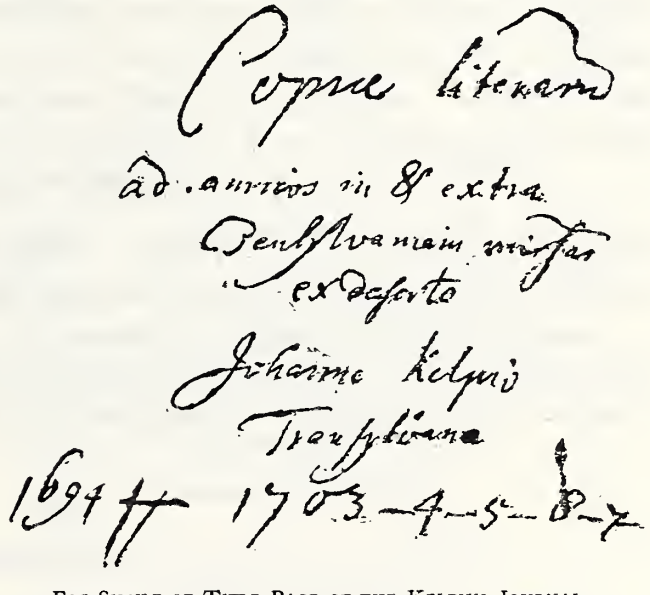
Pennsylvania in America 1705

N.B. That Cumber is, here above, spel'd with a K, & not with a C, has its peculier Reason.

ENGLISH TITLE PAGE TO KELPIUS' MS. HYMN BOOK.

upon more than one occasion, stubborn minds to combat. When internal dissensions threatened the fraternity it was always left to Kelpius to use the olive branch.

So far as known to the present writer, but two manuscript volumes of Magister Kelpius have come down to us;

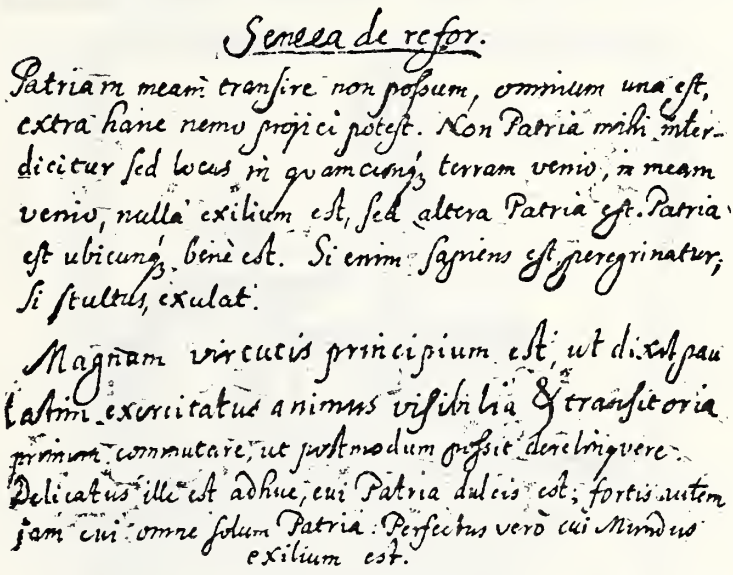


Fac-Simile of Title Page of the Kelpius Journal.

one a volume of hymns and music,[2] the other, which is the subject of this paper, is his journal or *diarium* in Latin with its daily entries during the voyage from London to Pennsylvania. This commences on the first day of January, 1694, and ends on June 24, the passage having taken ten weeks, the actual voyage starting on the seventh day of February. He divides his entries into six periods and

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 234–243.

three weeks, which covers seventeen pages of the journal; after the following introduction, which is apparently a quotation from Seneca, is headed:



Seneca de refor.

Patriam meam transire non possum, omnium una est, extra hanc nemo projici potest. Non Patria mihi interdicitur sed locus in quamcunq; terram venio, in meam venio, nulla exilium est, sed altera Patria est. Patria est ubicunq; bene est. Si enim sapiens est peregrinatur, si stultus, exulat.

Magnum virtutis principium est, ut dixit Pau
lastini exercitatus animus visibilia & transitoria
primum commutare, ut postmodum possit derelinquere.
Delicatus ille est adhuc, cui Patria dulcis est; fortis autem
jam cui omne solum Patria. Perfectus vero cui Mundus
exilium est.

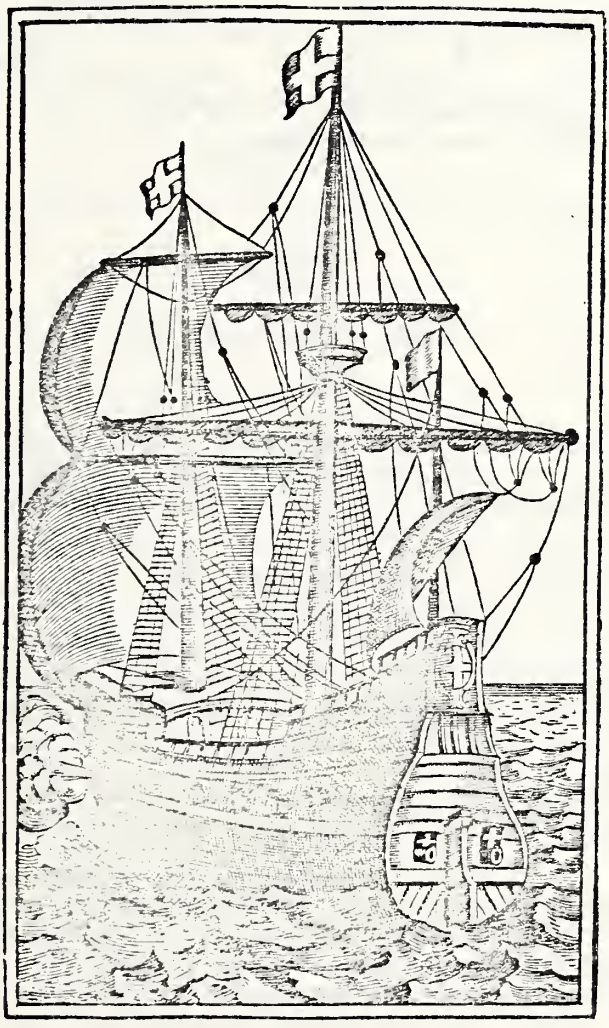
FAC-SIMILE OF INTRODUCTION.

(Translation.)

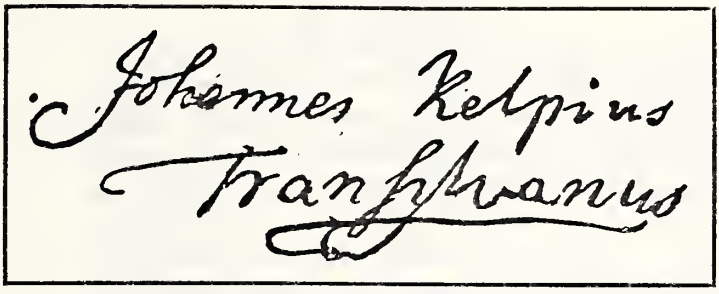
"SENECA DE REFOR."

"I cannot go beyond my country: it is the one of all; no one can be banished outside of this. My country is not forbidden to me, but only a locality. Into whatever land I come, I come into my own: none is exile, but only another country. My country is wherever it is well; for if one is wise he is a traveller; if foolish an exile. The great principle of virtue is, as he said, a mind gradually trained first to barter visible and transitory things, that it may afterwards be able to give them up. He is delicate to whom his country is sweet; but he is strong to whom every single thing is his country; indeed he is perfect to whom the world is exile."

The next leaf may be called a title, and sets forth that the following are "Literal copies of letters to friends in and out of Pennsylvania, sent from the wilderness by Johanno Kelpio, Transylvania, 1694–1703, 4, 5, 6, 7."



THE GOOD SHIP "SARA MARIA," CAPT. TANNER, MASTER.
(*Sara Mariabonae Spei.* Kelpius.)



J. N. J.

(In the Name of Jesus)

January A. D. 1694.

ON the 7th of Jan., I, convinced by God, resolved upon going to America, my companions being: Henry Bernard Cöster,[11] Daniel Falkner,[12] Daniel Lutke, John Seelig, Ludwig Bidermann,[13] as well as about 40 other companions, some of whom were numbered (mustered), and others convicted by God, in Germany, had as yet in the preceding year, resolved upon that voyage.

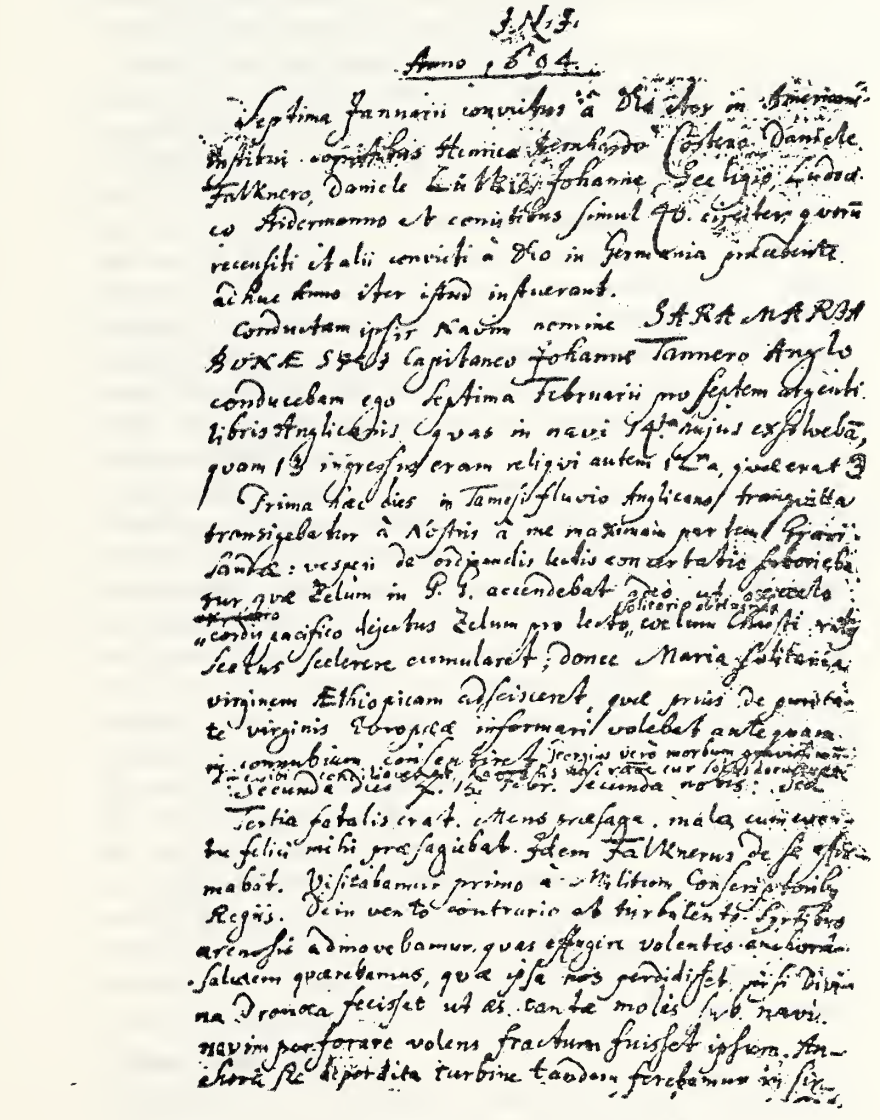
February On Feb. 7th I engaged for them the ship, "SARAH MARIA," of good hope, Captain John Tanner, an Englishman, the vessel being hired at seven (7) English £ of Silver, which I paid out on board

[11] Henrich Bernhard Koster (Coster-Kuster). For full account of this early pioneer and Evangelist *cf.* "German Pietists in Provincial Pennsylvania," pp. 251–298.

[12] Daniel Falckner. *Ibid.*, pp. 299–334.

[13] Ludwig Christian Biederman was the first member of the community to break his voluntary resolution of celibacy. Almost immediately upon his arrival in Germantown he married Maria Margaretha, the daughter of the widow of Rev. Johann Jacob Zimmermann. *Cf.* "German Pietists," pp. 460–472. They had been fellow passengers across the ocean.





FACSIMILE OF FIRST PAGE OF DIARIUM OF MAGISTER JOHANNES KELPIUS.

the ship on the 14th of this month, having embarked on the 13th, but the rest had embarked on the 12th. ☽ 14.8

This first day was passed tranquilly on the Thames river, by our 22.4 people, by me (in this manner) for the greatest part. At night-fall a dispute arose concerning the arrangement of the beds, which (dispute) kindled the zeal in P. G. (puellis, Germanis—German girls?), so that disappointed in the pacific union of heart, I deemed my zeal for obtaining a single bed the heaven of Christ, (zelum and coelum, being here a je de mots). The lewdness might have increased (?) until Maria (solitaria, a spinster, lone woman) brought in an Ethiopian virgin, who would previously inform herself concerning the purity of an European maiden, before she consented to marriage. But George was afflicted with a most severe illness, the condition forbids me here, enough, wherefore in this manner he slept alone.

The second day 4. 15th Feb. was lucky for us (secunda and secunde—2nd & lucky, another je de mots). But the third was 15.4 destined fatal. My apprehensive mind presaged evils with a fortu- 16. ♀ nate outcome. Falkner said the same of himself. We were visited first by the impress-gang of the king. Then we were driven towards sand-banks[14] by a contrary and turbulent wind; wishing to escape these, we sought safety in our anchor, whereby we should have perished if not Divine providence had made it, that the great weight of the metal, which, under our ship, would have perforated the same had not the anchor been broken itself. Our anchor being lost in this manner, we were at length borne upon the sand-banks by the whirl. All, saving a few, feared the end was at hand. The Captain having fired off four cannon, called those who were near to the rescue, but took pity on none of us. We furled the sails and committed the vessel to the turbulent billows, whilst the sailors were despairing. I had hold(of) the turtle-dove, that is not to be deserted, about the middle (waist) from the begin-

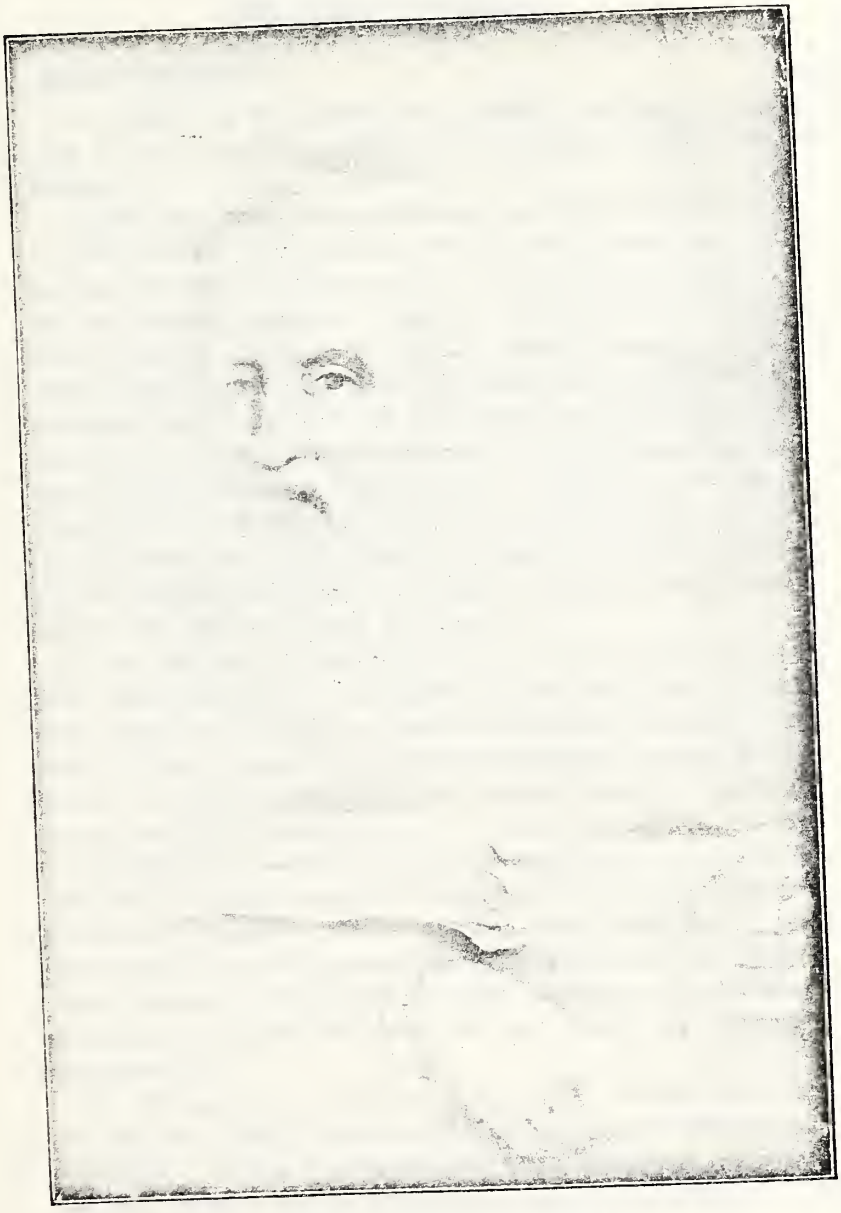
(Page 2 of Ms.)

ning (Feb. 16) of the storm, a divine witness, when already I saw

[14] Probably one of the shoals known as the Goodwin Sands.

our pilot despairing in the midst of our distress, when I was admonished, likewise, that by bearing witness concerning the most certain aid of God, I should raise his faith and hope, but being agitated myself, I kept my thoughts for myself. I was admonished a second time, but seeing him intent on other matters and turned away from me, I held my peace in turn. All were despairing and invoked the name of Jesus, as if about to journey into another life. Then being admonished (divinely) for the third time, I said to the pilot: "Have faith in God, who certainly will save us." The pilot rejoiced, for he was not so ignorant of divine matters. He pressed my hands and said: "God alone can help me everywhere, on Him shall I hope." Said, done (No sooner had he said these words than they were fulfilled). The storm began to drive the ship away from the sand-banks into deep water, where casting anchor, we praised God in safety. Meanwhile Cöster, with the rest, had been pouring forth strong supplication to God (and indeed, about that time, when I began to collect my thoughts) as soon as I was admonished for the 3rd time, inwardly, and addressed the pilot, he had changed his entreaty to a prayer of thanksgiving, being sure his wish had been granted, though not knowing what just now was being done by us (with us).

I went below, rejoicing in our deliverance, to announce the glad tidings. I told them what had been done by me just a little while ago, and they, in turn, related their experience; therefore I no longer wondered at the divine virtue in me while I prayed, (their prayers had so powerfully aided me). I went up on deck and explained the matter more fully to the pilot, who began to praise the Lord with folded hands, especially when I added, *that still more dangers were imminent (threatening), but that I was fully convinced of the final aid of God.* Going below for the 2nd time, I also disclosed this matter to my brethren, when Falkner, filled with the spirit of God, poured forth fervent thanksgiving: Praised be the name of the Lord for ever! Amen!. Hallelujah!



HENRICH BERNHARD KÖSTER.

ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE KELPIUS COMMUNITY ON THE WISSAHICKON.

(Page 3 of Ms.) February

The fourth day the Sabbath was, indeed, a Sabbath for us, 17. ♄
who, in this quietude, persevered in the praises of God, our 18. ☉
Preserver.

The fifth day, which was of the sun (*lis-solis?*) the infant son of Henry Lorentz, died, aged 6 months, his remains were cast into the sea (or, "he fell into the sea"). We were again visited by the royal impress gang, who would have borne off as their booty three of the best attendants of our pilot (captain) under pretense of the Swedish nation (for Swedes they were) had not divine favor won over unto us the hearts of the soldiers; for Cöster had previously poured forth a most fervent prayer. By the aforesaid providence, those impressors carried off from a neighboring vessel, that was going to sail to America with us, three Belgian sailors. Thereafter we were happily borne by a gentle breeze from out of that dangerous place to one more secure, and there, having cast anchor, we remained through the night.

On the 6th day, we vainly sought for our lost anchor, but, a 19. ☽
great calm arising, we were obliged to rest, making up for the delay by reading the Bible and dissertations on sacred subjects. At night we were in turn visited by the impress-gang, who carried off one of our younger servants, yet we, in turn, acquired a former servant and sailor of the king's.

On the 7th day, we were borne by a favorable wind over (past) rocky and sandy ledges and on the right, leaving behind for ever the shore of England. About even-tide there approached to us some men-of-war with 22 other vessels, bearing and accompanying Prince Ludwig of Baden from England to Holland. At night, casting anchor beyond the rocks, we slept securely and soundly (on either ear).

The 8th day (i. e. the 7th of our sailing), brought Sabbath and rest, for, happily, a south-wind blowing, we were borne to a place called "Downs" by the English, where the rest of the ships 21.8 Dea
that were going to sail to America with us, were assembled. +

(Page 4 of Ms.)

(Period Second)

t
February At that port (Downs)[15] we awaited for about 2 weeks for a favorable wind, and the royal mandate, shortening the long, weary hours by dissertations on sacred subjects and by study of the Bible. Meanwhile we sent letters to London and to Germany to Tob. Ad. Lauterbach[16] (Feb. 27th) also to others from whom we received answers full of most auspicious omens.[17] The other part (of our company) which had been excluded, at London, on account of their depraved manners, from us and our spiritual intercourse, wasting their time in brawls and fights, were a scandal even to the lower (inferior) sailors, who wondered that the young women were beaten by the men. But even the triumvirate itself (for 3 families had been excluded) was split up into factions, and had not one yielded to another, the matter might have come from words to blows, as I have said was done at the former fight.

March On March 3rd our Captain received another anchor, like unto the one that was lost, though inferior to the latter, yet most acceptable unto us. Scarcely had we received this anchor when we were again visited by a furious storm, and what increased the danger, the two anchors, which we had cast, became interlocked and could hardly be adjusted (set aright) though it took a long time. Loosed, we were, meanwhile being borne nearer and nearer to the rocky and sandy ledges. We saw the cables sustaining the anchor of a ship not far off being torn asunder. We heard the boom of cannon of vessels in despair; at the same time we saw broken spars floating here and there. But what our fate would have been, I could not (was not allowed to) inquire, nevertheless we were extricated out of this danger, we were freed.

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15 "The Downs," a spacious roadstead in the English Channel affording an excellent anchorage. It is between the shore and the Goodwin Sands and is much used by the British Navy.

16 Tob. Ad. Lauterbach, one of the leaders of the Philadelphiac Community.

17 This was during the universal war then waged against Louis XIV of France, 1689–1697. In American history it is known as "King William's War."

(Page 5 of Ms.)

On the following day I received a letter from Samuel Waldenfield, residing in the "Lamp" on Frenchurch St., London, in March
which letter some money was assigned to me (a draft), sent from Divine
Holland by a devout (Lat. divina) virgin, Catharine Beerens, Virgin
van Boswig, said money to be received of Samuel Standeriwk, at Deal,[18] who received me and my companion Seelig, very civilly, on the following day, and by way of conversation, he manifested great interest (was wonderfully delighted) in the affairs of the Pietists of Germany, and desired that we should often come to see him; but our unexpected departure on March 8th, frustrated our intention. For the man-of-war accompanying us, received orders 8
from the King to set sail. Therefore, unfurling our sails, about 4
sunset, we were borne along by the east wind with 19 accompanying vessels, whereof 3 were men-of-war.

Next day our Captain received instructions, from the admiral of the war-vessels, concerning his course of action on the voyage, by 9. ☿
day and by night, in all events, in calm or storm, in peace or war. They read as follows:—

"Instructions for your (the) Boat or keeping Company with "their Majesty's Ship ye "Sandados Prize," under my Com-"mand:—

"If I weigh in ye day I will hauld from my foartop sail shrouds "and fire a Gunn. If in ye night I will putt a Light in ye main "topmast shrouds and fire a Gunn, which Light you are to "answer. If I weigh in fog I will fire 3 guns distinctly one after "another.

"If I anchor in ye night or in a fogg I will fire 2 Guns a small "distance of time one from ye other and putt aboard a Light "more than my constant Lights which Light you are to answer."

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"If i lye by or try in the Night, i will fire five Guns, and March
"keep a Light abroad more than my constant light in the Main-"Schrouds, and if through extremity of Weather we are forced to

[18] Deal, a seaport and market town in Kent, England. It has no harbor.

"lye a Holl or under a Mizon, i will fire three Guns, and put "abroad two Lights of equal height more than my constant Light, "and if i make sail in the Night after blowing Weather, or after "lying by, or for any other reason, i will make the same sign as "for weighing in the Night, wich Light you are to answer.

"In case of separation if we meet by day, the weathermost ship "schall lower his Fore-Top-Sail, and those the Levard schall an-"swer by Lowering their Main-Top-Sail.

"He that apprehends any danger in the Night schall fire Guns "and put abroad Three Lights of equal height, and bear away, or "Tack from it; but if it schould happen to be strange ships, then "make false fires and endeavour to to speack with my (me); and "to better to Ruon each other in the night, he that hails schall "ask what schip is that, and he that is heilet schall answer Adven-"ture, than he that hailet first schall reply Rupert.

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"If i have a desire to speak with you, i will hoist a Jack-Flag "in my Mizon-Top-Mast-Schrouds, and make a Weft with my "ensign.

"If you have a desire to speak with my, you schall hoist your "Ensign in your Pain-Top-Mast-Schrouds.

"If in the night you chance to spring a Leak, keep firing of "Guns, and showing of Lights."

"Dated on Board their Will Allen.
"Majesty's Ship "Sandados Prize"
"March ye 9, 169¾.

On the third day we were borne by a favorable wind, leaving,
10 at about noon, the Isle of Wight on the right. On the 4th day,
♄ which was a Sunday, with bright sunshine, a most gentle, yet very
11
☉ favorable breeze blowing, we entered the harbor of Plymouth (than which we could have scarcely wished a better) about five o'clock in the evening, and lo! the Belgian war-ships, ceding, as it were, their station unto us, left the port. We, entering port, occupied their former place, & now safely moored from billows and storms, we had, moreover, to the west, our men-of-war, & a citadel, con-

If i have a desire to speak with you, I will hoist a Jack-Flag in my mizon-Top-Mast-Shrouds; and make a Weft with my ensign.

If you have a desire to speak with my, you shall hoist your ~~Jack~~ Ensign in your Main-Top-Mast-Shrouds.

If in the Night you ~~change~~ chance to spring a Leak, keep firing of Guns, and showing of Lights.

Dated on Board their Maj.ties Ship Saudadoes Prize Maich y.e 9. 1693

Will. Allen

Tertia die Secundo venti flabamur vela-quentes circa meridiem à dextris insulam Wight

Et ita eo vesperi Sole erat sole serenissimo, aere benignissimo sed tamen frigidissimo maxime, quo melioren nobis exoptare vix potuissemus. intra Bantus portum Plymouthianum circa horam quintam hesperinam, Nicea naves Belgicæ bellicæ nobis quasi locum cedentes egredientes ubi ante portum obviam faciebant in quorum locum nos ingredientes optimum occupabamus, alligantes navium rupibus et prorsum ancoras firmantes, posth extra omnes fluctuum et procellarum injurias habentes ipsi per ante nos ex Gallia naves bellicas Anglicas totidem, quot Anno 1692 mense Decembri et Januario pugnis tormenta continuabant

FAC-SIMILE OF PAGE CONTAINING THE ORDERS OF CAPT. ALLEN.

taining as many guns (cannon) as there are days in the year, namely 365.

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PERIOD THIRD.

At this place we tarried for five weeks, vainly expecting the royal convoys. Meanwhile we became familiar with sundry citizens of Plymouth. The rest of our time was spent in sacred exercises & meditation. I, for my part, received some letters from Cleves & Nüremberg, wherefore I was not so much in a quandary concerning the manner of our voyage, but I answered all objections satisfactorily, directing moreover other letters to Lauterbach, Mons de Wateville, Moerkamp & others, chiefly at London.

April 15 But when, on April 15th, Danish, Swedish & Spanish floats landed, we bargained with these for their convoy,[19] & gave up waiting for the royal vessels, & on the 18th, with a favorable south wind, the sea being clear, we ventured on our voyage, at about 10 a.m. But, lo! when we had scarcely left port, we were driven about by a contrary breeze, moreover, we descried three stately ships, which we first took to be French men-of-war, but found out afterwards they were Portuguese. During the night a heavy fog arose, so that we were borne along, as it were, blind-folded & lost the English coast, to which, resplendent in the evening sun, we had bidden farewell, directing our course westward with a favoring north-wind, & with 38 vessels accompanying, being mostly Spanish, these first discoverers but now hated settlers of the new world, conveying us, seemingly, towards a better hope.

18.8 +

On this day, on account of the opposition of ☉ ♂ 8 20. ♀ the superstitious crew expected a huge tempest, but an altogether indifferent sky permitted a prosperous course under Lat. 49° 33′. At the same time also on the following days 5 ♂ ☉ ♂ so that that formidable opposition neither from before nor behind exercised (?) their powers.

[19] In this war, under the league of Augsburg, almost the whole of Europe was arrayed against France.

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On this day the south wind blew rather violently. Hourly we traversed 5 English miles, but our convoys were scattered all day long & could hardly be kept together by their highest officers. At mid-day the wind veered from south to west, scarcely giving us time for furling sail, & awaiting, as yet, the dispersed vessels, our main-mast sail alone expanded, we ploughed leisurely, the hostile sea. So the most favorable aspect of the constellations had caused one of the worst storms. April 23. ☽

Hereafter, on the 24th, under Lat. 48° 9′, our ships were gathered together. On the 25th, under Lat. 47° 49′, with a favorable east-wind, we bade farewell, in the evening, to our Spanish convoys, rewarding them also. The name of their highest officer was Nicholas De Rudder. 24. ♀ 25.8 +

PERIOD FOURTH.

Leaving, therefore, the Spanish vessels 25-behind, we were borne from Lat. 47° 3′ to Lat. 43° 58′, being favoured by a most delightful east-wind throughout the week. In longitude we traversed more than 300 leagues (1200 geog. mi.), so prosperous was the 2nd week of our voyage. But on the 1st day of the 3rd week, which was the 2nd of May, there blew an ugly west-wind, which sorely vexed us on the following night. May 2.8 +

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3. An auspicious day. A north-wind drove us from our place. 4. In consequence of the wind changing to west, we were tossed about all night, being hurried along on the tempestuous gale. At the 3rd night-watch it veered towards the north. 5. Weathering fierce storms, we finally proceeded with a favorable north-wind. 6. Under Lat. 49° 55′, with west-wind, we sailed southward, until, at last, on the 7th, we passed through an unfavorable night. During the day, we encountered several storms, losing our fore-masts, that of the prow & 2 of the middle (the twin masts). Moreover, we were unable to ascertain our latitude, neither moon, sun, nor 3. ♃. May 4. ♀ 4.5. 6. ☉. 7. ☽

stars appearing; but a little before evening devotions, a north-wind
8. ♂ cheered the sailors. 8. Under Lat. 41° 22′, we sailed along happily, restoring, in part, our lost masts.

PERIOD FIFTH.

9.☽+ Our stormy week being at an end, we entered upon a warlike one. Scarcely had we arisen after a turbulent night, when squalls
10. ♃ prevented our refitting the masts. Early on the 10th, we beheld from afar, three vessels. Presently they advanced toward us. Some conjectured they were English ships homeward bound from American shores. But when, after hoisting our colors, we perceived, they did not reply, but kept on approaching nearer and nearer, we thought, they were bent on an engagement. In this we erred not. For they were French, & their largest vessel carried 22 cannon, the 2nd 10, & the smallest 6 cannon, & since they sailed with a favor-
May able wind, they challenged us to battle. We, having made preparations for ½ an hour, kept on the defensive only, & that so bravely,

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that the largest vessel took to flight. Our companion vessel the "Providence," seeing this, came up to us, already victors, to the pursuit of the French vessels, which, now, all fled with every sail expanded. And because the "Providence" was of superior speed, she alone coped with the fleeing vessels, with such eagerness, as though we had gained a greater victory. Sometimes, however, whilst being greatly troubled by her three adversaries, she would wait for us to come up, until, at last, we obtained possession of the smallest ship, which carried six cannon. With this we were contented, although we could have captured the rest, yet, deeming that superfluous, we began to sing a song of triumph (paean).

Strange to say, in this battle of four hours' duration, we were struck by three cannon-balls only, & that without any one's being hurt, & with but little damage to our vessel. On board the vessel we captured, one man had been wounded in his foot, another had his head torn off, & the remaining ships, what losses had they not sustained? On this and on the following day, we, marvelling at

divine Providence, worshipped & praised the name of God. But marry, the vicissitudes of human affairs! Again two vessels loomed up, are they friends or foes? We were in a quandary. We also recollected, that two French war-ships were still at large, & we had heard our prisoners remark, that one of those carried 80 cannon, & the other was an armored one. Hence we again prepared ourselves for another encounter. They however, altered their 11. ♀ May

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course & thus, what seemed to be our ruin, came happily off, & we, our fears being somewhat allayed, rested our weary limbs.

Occasionally, we were amused by the gambols of the monsters of the deep, some having the form of calves, others that of horses, and still others that of whales. Especially at night they presented a fine spectacle, when vying, as it were, in speed with our vessel, they seemed just as moving through a sea of fire, (Phosphorescence). But, lo! ·/2. Late in the morning another ship hove in sight, just as if six navigators had met, first three to two, then two to three (——for we were sailing already with our booty), lastly, one being offered to our view. Concerning this last vessel, our minds were uneasy but for short space, since no sooner had she appeared, than she withdrew. The French vessels returning from Martinique had thus far troubled us enough. 12. ♄.

Sunday, bright sun-shine, under Lat. 39° 48′, laying care aside, we were cheered by a favorable east-wind; shortly before, it had been from the north. Then with heavy sea-weed (?), we ploughed the main. On the 15th, the wind veering to south, we slacked our course, meanwhile the sailors looked with covetous eyes at our French prey, grumbling at our captain, who kept appeasing his hunger for sugar, & quenching his thirst for cider (with which merchandise the ship was fraught), until he promised that all should be partakers, just as himself, of the unjust mammon, as soon as the latter should have been made of private right from (by) the lawful judges of these matters (pilfered from them). 13. ☉. 13. 14. ☽

PERIOD SIXTH.

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May 16. 17. 8. ♃ + 18. ♀ 19 5. 20. ☉ 21. ☽ 22. ♂ He was Peter Blessed. 23. 8 + May 24. 4. ♀ 25. 26. ♄ o

The fifth week of the warfare, the 16th day began under Lat. 39° 21′, the 17th, morn advanced, presented a ship returning from Antego, though first preparing for battle with the same, yet we spent the remainder of the day most amicably, & entrusted letters for London with the same, determining (settling) also the controversy (dispute) concerning our French booty, from which we had taken two cannon. On the 18th, east wind shortly before midnight winged our flight, but scarcely four sails were unfurled on account of the lazy-tardy bulk of our French prey. We tarried, therefore, for the latter, & on the 19th, tired of waiting, we bade farewell to the "Providence," leaving her in charge of the booty, & so we went (proceeded) before alone, leaving all the ships behind, that had set out with us from England. But on the 20th, the wind being contrary and exceedingly strong, which hardly moderated on the 21st & 22nd. At this juncture, I recalled a Prophet, x who prophesied for me x while yet in London, that Cherubim would be the companion of our way & our protectors in danger, & that this would be a sign that we should accept of Divine assistance, to wit, that although having left behind all other vessels, yet we alone should precede with contrary wind, & should happily draw (come) ashore in America, i. e. 23. The sixth week, looking at our companions, you would say, they are snugly at Philadelphia, they were borne in love. North-wind also seemed to favor, but, as if heaven had decreed otherwise, a west-wind visited us with storms, when already in Lat. 37°, we were approaching Virginia, which we sought. Therefore on the 25th, we were driven northward to Lat. 39°, whilst the sailors were becoming apprehensive, for a huge

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vessel seemed to sail by, (Flying Dutchman?). But on the 26th, late in the morning, we came, very unexpectedly, up to seven ships. These were returning from Virginia to England. To our great dismay we learned from them, that we were as yet 250 leagues distant from land——most agreeably to our reckoning. We entrusted

unto them letters to London, & bade farewell & directed our course from Circins (?) to Notolybinn (?). Which line, also, we followed on the 27th, the blessed day of Pentecost (Whit-Sunday) & on the 28th & 29th. The seventh week was the most steadfast in inconstancy, for now we were borne south, now north. But on the 31st, the wind turned from Circins (?) to north, presently to Caecins, (north-east) then to east to Libanotus, and lastly, to south-west. June 1st, just as yesterday, we experienced variable wind, but yesterday it was clear, to-day, however, we had rain-storms (showers), & about eventide we were cherished (comforted) by a huge parasite fish (Shirk), at the same time a strong north-east wind steadily kept advancing us about two leagues per hour throughout the entire night. The same north-east wind, though less constant, favored us. During the morning hours, a dolphin of medium size was caught in our (unmoved) anchor. He was yellow as gold, spotted with red.

29. ☉ 28. ☽ 29. ♂ 30. ♃ + 31. ♃ June 1. ♀ 2. ♄ June

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(The dolphins must have been wedged between anchor & poop!) (When (while) from the opposite, our parasite of yesterday, with huge bulk, & seven foot length tickled neither our eyes so much, nor our taste yet the dolphin filled out both, though not confirming credibility (stapability) the fable of the ancients concerning the love of music, unless, perchance, you should say our English crew erred in the name. 3. To-day an uninterrupted & brisk north-east wind drove us directly away from a ship we should otherwise have met. Whether the latter were friend or foe, we could not tell. Nevertheless they seemed to entertain some fear & sailed back, whence they had come. 4. Under lat. 38° 10′ we had favorable north-east, soon after changing to east, then to south-east under lat. 36° 53′, where with full sail, we outstripped the birds, so that on the following 5th & 6th, on the completion of our seventh week, we augured, we should see dry land; nor should we have been deceived in our augury, had not the wind changed from south to south-west.

June 3. ☉ 4. ☽ 5. ♂ 6. ♃ + 7. ♃ 8. ♃ 9.

4. 7. & 8. & 9. The same south-west wind continuing, we were driven north-east-ward, & disappointed in our hope of descrying

land. 10. ☉ But yet, on the 50th day after our departure from
10. ☉ England, we touched the bottom of the sea at only 38 threads (fathoms? $38 \times 6 = -228$ feet).

But lo! for four hours we were tossed about by a double storm & wind until,

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June
11. ☽ at last, north-east wind, so often longed for, favored us, which,
12. ♂ nevertheless, on the 11th, turned to north, so that, although almost entering port, yet we could not accomplish this end. 12. From afar we descried three vessels, & from about 8½ a.m. to 12 noon, we beheld a huge eclipse of the sun under lat. 36° 45′. And lo! the eclipse over, we entered by a most blessed influence (considering externalities) the bay of Virginia (Chesapeake) towards 8 p.m., casting anchor somewhat after midnight.

Ninth Week

8. 13 ♃ Beginning with the new & ninth week, a good south-west blow-
4. 14 ing, we traversed 40 leagues, until, leaving the coast of Virginia & sailing along that of Maryland, we went to the lord-protectors
15. 16 royal deputies (procurators region) to inform them of the why & wherefore of our coming to the new world. Having tasted of the fruits, which grew in great abundance along the shore, we pursued the remainder of our way.

The memorable excommunication of Falkner by Cöster, & that of Anna Maria Schuchart, the Prophetess of Erfurt (Erphortianae)!

Tenth Week

In the tenth week.19. we all went ashore (disembarked), (literally "kissed the ground (earth") 5. 22. Went to New Castle; 23 ☉ to Philadelphia, & finally 24. ☽ to Germantown.

Then follow copies of the nine missives sent to persons at home and abroad, viz.:

1. German letter to Henrich Joh. Deichman[3] in London, dated September 24, 1697 17–20
2. To the same May 12, by Jan. van Leveringh[4] 21–34
3. Postscript to above by Johann Selig[5] 35–40
4. Missive to Mr. Steven Momfort[6] in Long Island, December 11, 1699, in America Concerning the Pietists in Germany (*English*) 41–47
5. Letter to Rev. Tobias Erie Biorck,[7] Pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church at Christiana (*Latin*) 48–60
6. To Maria Elizabeth Gerber[8] in Virginia, an answer to her letter, in which she requests an expression of my opinion concerning the Quakers (*German*) 61–83
7. To Magister Fabritius,[9] Prof. Theol. in Helmstad July 1, 1705 (*German*) 84–88
8. To his " Hertzens " Brother Deichman, July 23, 1705 (*German*) 89–91
9. Of the Threefold Wilderness State viz.: (1) The Barren, (2) The Fruitfull & (3) the Wilderness of the

[3] Henrich Johann Deichman, leader of the Philadelphiac Movement in Europe.

[4] Jan. Van. Leveringh, a member of the Levering family who returned to Europe. *Cf.* " German Pietists," p. 338.

[5] Johann Gottfried Selig, one of the leaders of the Kelpius Community. For biographical sketch *cf.* " German Pietists."

[6] Stephen Mumford (born 1639; died July, 1701) is accredited with being the founder of the Seventh-day Baptist Church in America. *Cf.* " German Pietists," pp. 136 et seq. Also " Seventh Day Baptists in Europe and America," by Professor Corlies F. Randolph, Vol. II, Plainfield, N. J.

[7] Rev. Tobias Eric Biorck, pastor of the Swedish Lutheran Church at Christiana (Wilmington, Del.).

[8] Maria Elizabeth Gerber in Virginia. The identity of this person has not been solved.

There are no records known that any Germans were in Virginia at that early day, yet some of the early records in the Halle orphanage seem to indicate their presence.

[9] Magister Johannes Fabricius, professor in the University of Altdorf, tutor of Johannes Kelpius.

Elect of God, anno May 25, 1706, To Hester Palmer[10] in Long Island in Flushing (*English*) 91–101

These letters, as will be seen, are somewhat rhapsodical, and filled with obscure illusions to mystical subjects and scriptural quotations. A vein of true piety, however, pervades every missive, the whole being an evidence of the survival of superstition at that late day, strangely mingled with the observed facts of science.

[10] Hester Palmer in Flushing, Long Island. Identity not established. Evidently a member of Steven Mumford's congregation.



BOOKPLATE OF THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROPAGATING THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS.



REMAINS OF THE ANCHORITE CELL OF MAGISTER KELPIUS.

NEGATIVE BY JULIUS F. SACHSE, LIT. D., 1895.

I.

LETTER TO HEINRICH JOHANN DEICHMAN, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Copy of a Letter from Pennsylvania to London, to Mr. Heinrich Johann Deichman.

February 24th, 1697.

Faithful Fellow Champion Deichman!

YOUR esteemed favor received with joy, and there resounds from "The Call to Wisdom," which you enclosed, such an echo in our spirit, as though wisdom herself had meant us. We behold the harmony of divine discipline by virtue of a sympathetic agreement of your centre with ours, and although the radiant roads from and to the latter, cross each other in an endless manner, yet with all this diversity, the aspect of the upper huts of our mother, manifold wisdom, becomes more dear and joyous. Therefore we are not angry because of your cross and opposition roads, just as you, we hope, are not angry with ours, because, indeed, from the stroke of the cross, the bright colors of the sign of peace must be born, just as Solomon from David. The radii of our cross are directed at present from the centre exteriorly, when, however, the Lord is willing to unite these outward-turned extremities of our cross in their central point, He alone knows, and to Him alone this is possible. Hence it is not my intention to pen with ink of our color, the letters Y. L. (Your Love), because your love is sealed in its place. We only long for the revelation in and from out the heart of the love of God, and the more anxiously we bear, the more carefully the Lord hides us from the dragon, that watches so carefully for the birth, in order to devour it.

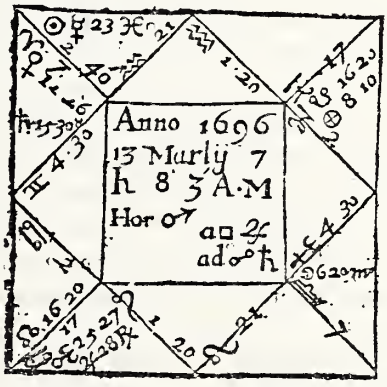
Fight thou with us, thou faithful soul, and lead all thy relatives forth into the same battle, and suffer no strange trumpet of a prince operating through fame in the air, to separate our united phalanx under the banner of the Lion and the Lamb. (we must long for in hopeful patience, as later on, the Father at times, renders the waiting sweet).

The Lord once said: We love him rightly, for whom we can wait a long time; he, whom we love but little, from him we soon depart. The Lord hath also waited long for us, ere we received this desire, in which blissful, hoping waiting, I remain with cordial embrace in the love of Jesus

thine eternally united
J. KELPIUS.

P. S. Most worthy brother, the longer I write, the more ardent my spirit becometh in the desire for the revelation of our hope, because all pens or quills, or even bodily cohabitation, though these modify the longing somewhat, do but little or naught for the cause. How often am I in the spirit more exactly round about you, than I am with those with whom I corporeally dwell in Kedar. Therefore I kiss the Father's hand that hath led me into this desert as into a chamber. For verily! had I remained in London with Mecken and Clerk, we should have done harm never to be told unto each other, as I now clearly see, as we love each other cordially, and they were loth to let me go, hoping in spirit to continue the work vigorously. I went with joy into this desert, as into a garden of roses, and I knew not at that time, that it was the furnace of affliction in which the Lord was about to purify and to prove me, and now I see it, since the heat hath somewhat passed by, and I praise the Father, our Lord Jesus Christ, that He willed such good unto me. But enough hereof! My best regards to Mecken & Clerk, if they still survive, as I hope, and grow with us in the same hope; it is but for a little while, as I hope, and we shall speak unto each other differently, far differently than heretofore, and then shall no man take our joy from us, for the faithful and true witness will not suffer us to be constantly in unrest.

I am in no wise displeased with them, that they were offended in us and, in a measure, delivered us unto death. We have, indeed, often been brought near to the gates of death, and the coldness of death, which David dreaded so much, is not yet past. Now where our loss has been their salvation (as above indicated) how much more will our life be their assumption (proslepsis), when the Lord shall awaken us from the dead. We certainly had had sufficient cause, to be offended in them; if, however, this being were to continue in growth, where would the accretion be, and the love that is founded upon forgiveness from the heart, and forgiveness upon the knowledge of one's own faults, and this knowledge is founded upon that great humility which we all lacked in spite of our great knowledge. But the Lord knoweth how to humble the proud, and how to bend that which in us is rigid by means of His fatherly cross-blows with which our ways are interwoven. To Him be praise, honor, power and glory for ever, world without end. Amen.



An Ancient Horoscope Cast by the Mystics on the Wissahickon.

II.

LETTER TO HEINRICH JOHANN DEICHMAN, LONDON, ENGLAND.

To the Same, May 12th, 1699, through Jan von Lewenigh (Delivered).

Faithful brother and fellow of the tribulation, of which, at this time, all partake that hope in patient and longing waiting for the glorious appearance of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

I HEAR with special joy, how you show in your last letter, happily delivered together with a package by Mr. Schaeffer, your heart unto us as in a mirror, and how you permit us to see in what manner you are being purified in the furnace of the covenant, even so, that you feel, that your experience was not the lot of the children of God for many centuries. Just as I have made mention in my first letter to you, of similar experiences of ours, but especially of mine own, concerning such as the Lord from the beginning to this hour uniteth more firmly; but, afterwards, for upwards of a whole year, my experience is such, that the water hath not only often encompassed my soul, as you say of yourself, but I have even sunk in the deepest and bottomless slough of despond. So you, too, at the beginning of that state, did compose a lay of woe, sent to me through Falkner, so that I must conclude, that the entire body of Christ is now suffering on earth, nor do I understand this to be an ordinary suffering, but rather such as extendeth from Gethsemane to Golgotha; yea, what shall I say, it hath not yet come to the . . . branch! The worst, the thrust of death, is still behind, when I shall atone before no common one . . . on the cross, or Jebusite, as Herod, or mystic imagina-

tion and dreams (but I am not speaking) (will reveal the right mystic way, which the world did hide) but of a real, where, essentially, this is done once and for all time, and from out of which a necessary transmutation as to body, soul and spirit resulteth. I have, indeed, heard and read much of many that have died, risen, ascended, yea, descended with a virgin body, and now filling therewith their former body in such a manner, that the new covereth the old, as hides or pelts cover the hut of Moses, etc., the worthiness of which I do not impeach; yet sad experience hath hitherto taught, that most men, after such advance, have not only not outstripped the others, but some have been made subservient to others, and have, in part, become unlike themselves in a deterior altitude. The words of Partus (Plato ?) are clear indeed, on which my faith is founded, that none in this life is preferred before another, much less, that one shall be the cause efficient of another's resurrection. Great speculations on this subject are of no avail, much less availeth imagination, which latter, with those who had some true relations, was at last regarded as such, or at least blended therewith, though they consider themselves free from all mixture, for they do it, though eventual acts may approve of speculation, and it has been tried, bringing on many a great fall, of which I could adduce sufficiently many examples, and indeed of such who in their palmy days would not have yielded to any one in England on account of their inspiration; but the same are such as by these events are compelled to hide themselves in their chambers, until the wrath be completely past, before which they were unwilling, at that time, to stoop, thinking themselves, as being perfectly cleansed and purified, sufficiently strong, until that wrath be cast upon the ground. And although such a fall, however great it is (see Psalm 62, 2 Gen.) might not eternally cast them down, that is, according to their inner spark of faith; as long as we, that is, the simple and quiet, step most securely. He that believeth, hasteneth not. He that hath said, He would come, will come assuredly, and without our running before; the wise virgins will be awakened, all at the same time, and they go forth and enter, all

at the same time, into the joy of their Lord, none of them runneth before or precedeth another, and, therefore, we should not regard the so called preference in the kingdom of God, because herein there existeth no precedence and order, or emulation, as is the case in academies and at courts of the world, but the greatest is as the least, and Christ sayeth: "The first shall be last, and the last shall be first." But if any one is of the opinion (I still call it an opinion) although he that thinketh so, regardeth it as his own opinion, that is, he or she, or he and she at the same time, the masculine birth for the universal redemption of groaning creation, as well as those that have received the firstlings of the Spirit, become God-bearing.

Now then, in the name of the Lord, let them step forth and finish this work so long desired, to my bliss and joy, as well as to that of all creation, and then we may call it in another opinion.

But, worthy brother, forgive me, if I continue as an unbelieving Thomas to present to your mind the example of our dearest Saviour Jesus and his precursor John, not to speak of others, as I only represent a biga (two-horse-chariot) of eternal grace, because, at present and heretofore, men have always been speaking of Z.[2] However much these kept themselves hidden before their assumption of office, however silent they were concerning their future, but they kept themselves in all things in a virgin silence (whereof in the Old Testament, the virgins always remain at home, and a going out in disguise representeth something properly) until that hour which was destined for them in the calendar of eternity, and then she stepped forth not with pen and ink, but in strength and might, which no foe could withstand, there you see how very much such a biga of eternal grace, even for our times and longer yet (availeth?), but this excessive boasting hereof in the streets of Babylon is somewhat suspicious to me. The cry: "See here!" "See there!" not to speak of the idle personal applications. In a word, the affair will come to pass quite differently than one or several men, yea, even Jesus Christ himself imagines, and though we have revelation

[2] Z = possibly an astrological character.

hereof, this revelation oftentimes cannot comprehend the spirit of the instrument, and often falls upon a false application of its person, and, if this will not do, it must be called a figure; now, inasmuch as many have practiced carnal lust in faith, or, at least, have brought about a spiritual mixture. How often, for pity's sake, have these things happened, and still happen even in such through whom it was hoped, salvation should burst forth; and we may perhaps not be so much mistaken in the application, as were the two disciples that journeyed to Emmaus, though we cannot demonstrate it to them, for those unto whom we can re-monstrate it, so that they may know it themselves even without remonstrations, these also stand in just as great danger as the others, in whom it appeared spiritually before God, but did not come to a bursting forth. As then the mystery of the holy gospel (when children that tie a string about a bird's foot and permit it to fly upward, and the bird thinking its freedom attained, but the children may pull it down to them at will) is fulfilled, wherein the spirit of evil permits them to soar on high in knowledges and visions, caring little about their freedom of ascension, if only he can make them descend at will by means of the rope fastened to their feet and incorporated with their earthly dwelling.

Dearest brother! Unto your opened wound, oil may be perhaps more agreeable than salt and pungent wine? which oil you would fain choose and expect of me, as, doubtless, you are bruised and dejected in mind sufficiently, and, believe me, that I am loth to swim in this element, as I would rather enjoy and gently glide with my beloved on evening clouds, but I am loth to storm with the north wind through the garden of God! But, my faithful heart, when I consider the dangerous place where you are and in spirit see, how some by bland gifts . . . seek to gouge out your eye and to bind your hands, after having shorn you of your locks of liberty, I would rather see you with Samson turning the mill-stone of exterior hard work (as we have done and at times still do, rather than see you basking in the lap of your beloved spiritual Delilah.)

I dearly love F. L. and his associates, and their writings have

often strengthened me and raised me up, but I wish from my heart, we may not see this sad drama more. So I also know, how those dear souls Quedlinburg (whom I spiritually embrace and kiss) founded upon the corner-stone of our salvation, have been so powerfully edified, after having laid aside so many rudiments, and I hope, they will also discard the remaining superfluities, and hasten to the purpose; therefore, I deem myself too paltry and miserable to teach them anything, because I am so fain to see, that, being rid of all teachers and martinets, we might be taught, enlightened and inspired and directly united with the head, the only high priest of our salvation, which, of course, cannot and will not be accomplished without previous dearth, discipline, temptation, cross (or whatever we may call it, as previously indicated by me), nor without the final lunge of death, although thereafter nothing shall take us captive and detain us; hence, we cannot but expect the bursting forth of salvation from Jesus Christ, in, from and through us all, because we all are but one body, and He, Jesus of Nazareth, remaineth the glorified theanthrope, from whom the life of the Father welleth and bursteth forth. Behold, dear brother, this manifest and through His apostles manifested truth is not unknown to you; inasmuch, however, as we see so many and various pseudo-saviours in the theatre of these our revolutions, it were not strange, if our countenances were somewhat turned away from the only true one, and if we looked infatuated upon another guest-brother's beauty, yea, angelic and cherub-like clearness, and thus forsook our truest and most beautiful bridegroom amongst all, and if we became faithless or even adulterous and would thus contaminate our virgin garment or even lose it; we recognize, indeed, among all these forms, the proximity of salvation, but so, that we may not embrace some folly because of too great ardour and heat of desire, as some men and women in their too ardent and passionate devotions have done, soaring perhaps too high, and then being humiliated, they took heed, as then the danger is truly and ineffably great, but not so great, as when we in spirit desert our most true and loving Jesus for the sake of others (though

they were angels), and become mixed with them, as indicated before, and you stand before this matter in greater danger on account of various circumstances (as we, for the sake of necessary assistance, sometimes do that which we otherwise do not approve of, as we here).

But as our dear Mr. Schirmer, in Halle, is reported to have said to Mr. Schaeffer: 'He would probably, find the devil in Pennsylvania,' so we are not ignorant of that which he is thinking of, but as Mr. Lange (of Hungary, if I err not) said to Falkner & Koester: 'Ye will also find the dear Lord Jesus in Pennsylvania'; hence He standeth at our right hand as a hero and screeneth us from all fiery onslaughts of Satan, and because His pure wisdom hath upon her tongue both the sharp law and the gentle grace, Prov. 3. 16, so we also are strengthened and comforted in all things and through all things, as we have experienced in ourselves and in others, where we, from a distance, impartially observe the deeds or the stumblings of every one of your round-table-companies.

But enough hereof! If now, dear brother, you find some assuredness in your heart, to come to us, do not think, that my dear Sohlige by his walking about, is aiming at you or your congress, as I am certain, you will be drawn by quite a different principle in coming hither, as our dear Schaefer, or others were, who from hence ran back again, hoping to teach the world or even the saints. For, how you will fare here, we already see in spirit, and I have been thinking of this before, hoping the salt would be more agreeable to you, than if I had placed before you mere peace. Compare the signs of the times with each other (whereof you have made mention in your letter) and you will easily, with Amos, be able to make a resolution to hide yourself, which you, according to our opinion can do no longer, inasmuch as matters have progressed too far, and your faith hardly reaches so far, that you would believe, it would rain manna into your tent (though I cannot find any thing in your letter to justify your giving up your present engagement entirely).

We cordially received Schaefer and gave him the choice among

7 or 5 different places, among our acquaintances and friends, where he might have enjoyed his bread in quietude; if he had only tutored the child of the house, he might have, after so many wanderings and ups and downs, been able to come to rest and permit God to prepare his soul and fix his purpose. But his heart always drew him to his nation: Swedes, Finlanders and Indians, which 3 resemble each other very much, in order to do good among them, as he thinks; and he went amongst them, and we parted from each other in love, as we left the door open for him, to come back to us, if he should not find among his nation that which he thought he would. But when at last, his soul shall be brought to rest, the Lord alone knows, for he himself is without method to attain this end, on the contrary, he is desirous of converting and strengthening others, though he himself confesses he has no grounds, and thus many impede their own progress in various manners, and cannot enter into their rest because of mere unbelief, standing so firmly upon themselves. Now, who could think, that our human way could be a wrong way, in so much as to be unwilling to turn therefrom. God be merciful unto such and unto us all!

Now, whatever you do, do it in faith, that the Lord will provide, and doubt thou not. Neither be thou afeard of the lions, nor of the bears, nor of serpents, nor any animal, but step upon their necks in the power of God, believing that they can harm no one but him that is afeard of them. Now, if you find the means to come hither, do not wait for Fox, but come in thy strength and faith which the Lord will give you, lest Alva, that is, the talk of an infidel move you and untoward thoughts seduce you. I seek not to persuade you, and for all the world I would not have your faith founded on me, nor on anyone else, but upon God alone. Do not make too much of this enterprise, as though you would hereby evade Babylon and all temptations, nor yet too little, as though this place were not more comfortable for your circumstances, to hide you in your exile, than London is and safety lies in a middle course, that is, in child-like simplicity. If this comes to pass, we shall, no doubt, receive more ample information con-

cerning many things, than we have received hitherto, especially concerning Catharina B. v. B., whereof we knew not a word, and how greatly we mourn this, is ineffable, so much so, that our heart would break; I would rather have imagined, the sun would be illumined by the moon, than that this would-be (as Maxan called him after his death, in consequence of which, he was imprisoned for a whole year and robbed of the presence of God, because he intrusted this one with several secrets, and as he related to Hattenbach, as is known) and black magician could darken and blacken this luminous sun (i. e. Catharina). And he may prefer cutting a figure, inasmuch as his second marriage, or whoredom, is sufficient proof and shows what he was hankering after, namely, lust of the flesh, which he could not satisfy in this pious soul, and what Seelig writes hereof, will, no doubt, become true. But she may be a figure before the judgment of God, how they began at the house of God, and how God in her, being the purest and best soul I have ever known, how they did begin to lay low in the dust all that which is sublime in the eyes of men. And it may possibly be, that she, on account of her rare gifts and special virtues (as then Jesus Christ, himself but a child, did distinguish her, though in outward splendor and knowledge of many things she had advanced considerably, whereof no one should boast, but rather fear). She was idolized by many and may have delighted therein, wherefore the Lord did abash her and caused her to be clothed in sack-cloth or goat skin, that she might forget her excessive wanderings, and hide herself from the knowledge of men. Then many a great saint will in secret rejoice, thinking himself to become great through her fall, and to make himself esteemed by judging and condemning her, just as he seeth and toucheth her exterior, rough sack in which the Lord hideth her, so he manifesteth hereby his internal, thorny and black nature which erstwhile had remained hidden under a radiant sheep skin. Who knows how shortly others may be abashed, who think not only to be standing alone, but also to become foundation-pillars to support the entire superstructure, yea to be such pillars already.

O blessed lowliness! How many fickle spirits flit above thee,

whilst Jesus was so lowly and, in all things, like unto His brethren, yea, even more lowly than they; and I should like to know, how Dr. Schmidberg and others welcomed her, when she returned. The poor child, no doubt must have been compelled to run the gauntlet and to sing from the Song of Songs: Look not upon me because I am black, because the sun hath looked upon me: my mother's children were angry with me; they made me the keeper of the vineyards; but mine own vineyard have I not kept. It may have been a special providence, that I did not receive her letter at that time, for all things must arrive at their appointed time. Still, I should like to know what therein was. But if it had for its author . . . , I can easily imagine what it contained. Write thou to her, prithee, with my cordial greetings, and though I should like to chat with her for an hour, to bring to her heart several things, what the Lord hath done by us both, yet I would not allure her forth from her rest and quietude. I doubt not but the Lord will bless her in time, in that He hath through her blessed so many; and because she, too, is as His sheep in His hand, so neither that . . . nor any other man will be able to snatch her from out His hand. Amen.

What we as brethren have written, you may communicate at the same time (because the one explaineth the other) without fear and reserve. For although I have touched upon several particulars and have written rather frankly (but Seelig has remained in general topics) I have no doubt but that all honest and upright disciples in Christ according to His doctrine, will readily assimilate the salt, though it disgusteth those who wantonly would remain effeminate weaklings. But do not omit corresponding very frequently with us, because herein I perceive the special hand of God, therefore I have also procured for you a good address, as you may see from what I have enclosed, the which you are to hand to W. S. Send us the acts with diligence, in that our friends crave for them and, if possible, something of Portage, who is entirely unknown to us. We had written about one or two pages; now if these be addressed to H. B. in care of this merchant W. S., they will reach their destiny in security.

Now, if ever you come to us, all things shall be made good. Please to give my kindest regards to Mecken and inform him of the fact, that I am not at all afeard of his letter, inasmuch as I have become so hardened in this desert, that I can possibly endure corporeal punishment, though undeserved. May the Lord alone strengthen us through an extraordinary power (for such is ours in these days) that we may reward the word of His patience, until that He come. Yes, come, Lord Jesus. Amen. Hallelujah.

Yours, J. K.



SYMBOL OF THE MYSTICAL EPHRATA COMMUNITY ON THE COCALICO, LANCASTER COUNTY, PENNA.

III.

LETTER FROM JOHANN SELIG TO H. J. DEICHMAN, LONDON, ENGLAND.

Copy of the Letter which Johann Seelig to the Same with This Did Send.

Dearly beloved Brother in the Lord:—

YOUR letter has partly comforted, partly grieved, and yet again encouraged us, in that the Lord in one and the same spirit (unto as many of us as stand in one spirit of the pure knowledge of His wondrous judgments) hath given us to perceive, whither such apparent calamities at this time are aimed and directed, the which is lost sight of by magicians, but is brought home unto them assuredly in divine power from the simple ground of faith-magic, to the consternation of the whole world, for whereby that adept in the black art though he could soar aloft and crush his opponent, even thereby he may be brought down, whilst his opponent riseth in divine power. Behold, how the principal person is already acting in the final destruction of the world through his false—morning star or harbinger! Through this their confusion, there is instituted from the simple and childlike ground of faith, the true love-feast or supper of the marriage of the Lamb (thus Apocalypse 19 should have been rendered in our German Bible). As no mention is made of this supper by the church and the reformation Baals up to this time, as a witness against them, that they do not belong to the blessed that are called thereunto, until after holding such a love-feast, the King himself in person appeareth, and the afore-mentioned person who will then also appear, and bear in his flesh the

centre of the magic ground of the dark world, bringing it to a close.

My dear little brother, we, indeed, had many things to speak of and to write of, but how is it possible, that the above imperishable soul-spark wedded unto the light of its sophic bride, should be able to manifest itself properly through these awkward, unproportioned organs of our present miserable body, wherein the same lies captive besides? Nothing is pleasing to the sight of this spark, not even the most beautiful colors of our aurora, because such are not the fixed body, though veritable signs of the same. Therefore, we especially labor and cry with our beloved to God our Father, Psalm 63: O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee: my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee in a dry and thirsty land, where no water is. And how often doth my flesh yearn thus! The flesh of Christ in us longeth to come out of the pathless desert and dry flesh of this body to the upper hut of the body that is not fashioned with hands from the waters above. Yet the beloved desireth, in no other manner than through divine birth-right, to sit in the spoiled lap of his bride, passing from such dryness and pathless desert and saying, that I may be seen thus in thy holy doing.

Therefore, let us be unanimous, nor let us tear off the swaddling-clothes of the discipline of our Father, as naughty children do, that afterward were bound with ropes; but nowadays many children are neither swathed nor bound, therefore filling the vessel too heavily, and, in turn, it is meted out unto them heavily. O blessed bond wherewith Paul was bound, when he writeth of himself: "I in spirit bound!" considering that some are unwilling to see the mystery of this binding in spirit, or unwilling to resign themselves thereunto. Hence there ariseth: 1. a restless running about from place to place without use and fruit of edification, either of one's self or of another; 2. a life according to one's own advice, caring little for that which one's neighbor giveth in love and faith, but . . . Of God and His Spirit; 3. all manner of fickle imagination concerning one's self and one's deeds to which we were called in

the world or in the church, as one imagines; 4. spiritual luxuriance or lewdness according to the word of the prophet, Old Testament, consisting in a constant desire of devotion in our own circle and also in behalf of others, breaking thereby the faith-link of Peter, namely: abstinence 2 Feb. 45. 6, especially at this time, when the impure, astral Venus desires to run constantly parallel to and act equally with our true philadelphian spirits of love, which are the essential body of heavenly wisdom, against which there is no better remedy than the drawing rope and that which the Lord, through the raisin, so truly testifieth at the last: Put on a rough coat and hide thyself, so that no one may know thee. That which is written in confirmation of this, Ep. 34 and Psalm XLXX, is of importance; 5. there ariseth a foolish nuisance, in that we cannot accommodate ourselves to the varying forms of Saul, where the Lord put on his cloth in distinct manners, but we think an impure spirit is making his abode therein. Now, as that one doth not fly into a passion, but understandeth well, why the Lord hath, for a time, hidden them, not only from men, but also from one another. (Yea, also from one's self in kind, as David prayeth therefor, 2. Sam. 22. LXX. Lord redeem or save from myself: (these words, I have added); 6. such unbridled liberty easily leadeth into a barren . . . temptation; as such an one often thinketh himself in the midst of hell, and almost immediately thereafter he declares he is in heaven, by which declaration, the ignorant are dazzled, as being beyond the true bounds of the process of Christ (in which something may come to pass which has a similarity, just as the astral Venus with the sophistic, which is but an astral motion, whereby the sensate elementary part, which lies below, just as the earth beneath the stars, is thus affected). In this connection men have indulged in another folly arising in them from ignorance, in that they constantly look at the accidents that may strike their exterior part, and are blind to the danger therein, especially at this time, soul . . . may. For then they consider themselves well secured and to have done almost everything, if they are exact in matters of external clothing, eating and drinking, in business and in their form of outward devotion, and hence they enjoy quietude, but they are

unwilling to comprehend aught of the firmament of the astral principle, where the need is greatest, nor will they suffer being told that such disturbs their devotion; 7. there finally ariseth the great evil, namely, the aforementioned abode of Satan, wherein we are confirmed in error and work disgrace upon disgrace. May our faithful God and Father of our Saviour grant that none of His be brought so low, but may He deliver them from the tribulation in the 7th, that they may not be united with the evil one.

My dear little brother, pardon my prolixity, I am not seeking to instruct thee, perhaps thou'rt more learned and stronger than I am. I am only trying to roll a part of my burden upon thy shoulders, hoping thou wilt help me bear it. What shall I say, when I think of the merciful, dear heart of God our Father who hath, for these many years in this desert, preserved several of us, especially me and dear brother Kelpius, from the arrows of destruction. What shall I say, when I think of the powerful eagle wings, upon which His providence hath lifted us poor worms, and borne us and conducted us wonderfully. My heart is melting away in tears and will not suffer me to pursue the thought, nor can this be, for it still lieth in mysterious wisdom, as a child in the womb hidden, and, in season due, its joy shall be made manifest.

My bodily health is rather poor; do not be too obscure in your letter, but open your heart unto us, as well as you may and just as the Lord permitteth, especially in regard to C. Reecken and others.

The religions here are in constant opposition, nor is this at all surprising, for they are *the* Jordan, of whose roaring waves and cataracts David in his exile in the desert, Psalm 42, singeth, which will endure until that Joshua and Elijah come and divide the river which is rightly called Jordan, that is, a division and ejection of judgment into victory, whence another Jordan will arise, that is, the doctrine of the judgment, which will flow in loveliness, for in the significance, as a figure of the cross of wisdom, is contained in the near Jordan. Greetings, etc., etc.

P. S. to my letter. On perusing this letter, I was amazed at myself, regarding with wonderment: 1. the long, 2. the prickly, 3.

the rough sack in which I was clad while writing, having resolved to write something totally different, but my spirit was broken, and my heart directed elsewhither, and my mind was led in bonds, whither it would not; I was fain to retain the letter, were I not as yet bound. I, therefore, resign the matter wholly to the merciful Father of our Saviour Jesus Christ, who knoweth why this had to be thus, though I, for the most part, know not, yet recognize this fact, especially as to persons, thinking of so many personalities.

My heart would fain melt away in tears of blood, both when I consider the tribulations to come, and also for gratitude and joy, when I think of the salvation, how His fatherly hand hath already saved us from so many snares of the hunter, and poured His blessings upon us. This again awakens the slumbering hopes, so that I commend all things unto the Lord with a believing heart, for He will do all things well.

Farewell.



Seal of the Sisterhood of Saron on the Cocalico (from Ancient Ephrata Document).

IV.

LETTER TO STEVEN MOMFORT IN RHODE ISLAND.

To Mr. Steven Momfort in Long Island[1] in America.

1699, 11. December.

Dear Friend and Brother:

IN fellow-fighting in that Free and Royal Spirit which strives for the Prize of the first Resurrection when in this Midnight the Cry of the Bridegroom's coming is sounded forth among the Virgin waiters for the Preparation of the Temple Body, wherein the King of Glory and Father of the coming Eternity is to enter. Your great desire for to be a little further informed of the Principles and Practizes of those People that go under the Name of Pietists, what they hold as Doctrin differing from others, what their Discipline is and what Methods they use in their own Country; this desire I will hope, doth not arise from the Root of that Athenian Curiosity to hear some new thing; But rather you being one among thousands in Juda, who sees how since that glorious Primitive Church of Christ Jesus the Apostacy hath run in a continual current till this very day, and though this Stream hath divided itself in many smaller Rivulets, under several Names of more reformed Purity, yet you are not ignorant how they derive their Emanation from one Spring and tend to the same end, Viz. that the Woman in the Wilderness might be carried away by the Flood. Therefore you, as a Remnant of her seed, long for to see your Mother and groan for the Manifestation of her children. No wonder then, if your continual Gazing upon this Supercaelestial Orb and Sphier from whence with her

[1] Should be Rhode Island.

Children, causeth you to observe every new Phoenomena, Meteors, Stars and various Colours of the Skei, if peradventure you may behold at last an Harbinger as an Evidence of that great Jubelee or Restitation of all things and glorious Sabbathismos or the continual days of Rest without intervening or succeeding Nights, whereof God hath spoken by the mouth of all his Prophets since the world began (Acts 3, 21) and whereof both the Testaments prophesie in every Title and Iota. If now this late Revolution in Europe (not to speak of that in other parts) which in the Roman Church goes under the Name of Quietism, in the Protestant Church under the Name of Pietism, Chiliasm, and Philadelphianism, If I say this together or one in Special purtends any thing to this effect. I do not question, but it will be your as well as my desire, who would rejoyce not only to give you full satisfaction as to this, but to see with you, yet in our days, that happy day, which when its new Earth swallows all that forementioned Floud and where its glorious Sun causeth all other Stars and Phoenomena to disappear, no Night succeeds it, but that the Night is swallowed up in ye Day, Darkness into Light, Death into Life, Judgment into Victory, Justice into Mercy, all imperfect Metals into Gold, and Gold itself is refined seven times, and all Churches and Virgins comprised into the one Dove (Cant. 6, 9), then all the Sons of God will shout for joy as they did in the Beginning, when God was all in all, as he will be all in all, when again the End hath found its Beginning. Amen! Halleluiah!

Dear and worthy friend, though unknown to the Flesh but known in that better, yea in the best Line and highest descent in the Life of our Immanuel, whose day we rejoyce to hear of and more to see, as well within us as without us, in its Depth, Hight, Breadth and Length, through the whole palsed and groaning Creation, as well as in our Mother Jerusalem above and Beneath! How can I write the particulars of the Quietists, Chiliasts or Philadelphians, whose Fame is spread in all the 4 quarters of the now Christianity. They first sprang in Italy, in Rome itself (and are increased now through the whole Roman Church in many

Millions, though they was and are still depressed) 15 or 20 years before the Pietists or Chiliasts in Germany and Switzerland (where the first Reformation) in the year '89 and '90, with a swift increase through the whole Nation, so that their Branches also did break forth into other Nations, as in England under the name of Philadelphians. This Penn is too dull to express the extraordinary Power the Pietists and Chiliasts among the Protestants in Germany (and especially in Saxony) and Switzerland was endued with in their Infancy. This only I say, as one who hath read the Histories, that since the days of the Apostels, such Miraculous Powers and operations have not been manifested as in a matter of 3½ years among these. And like as the Miracles wrought by God through the Hand of Moyses was for the main part in the outward Creation or Macrocosm, the Miracles of Jesus the Messia on the Bodys of Man or Microcosm, so these in our days was wrought (much like unto them in the days of the Apostles) on the Soul and more interiour parts by Ectases, Revelations, Inspirations, Illuminations, Inspeakings, Prophesies, Apparitions, Changings of Minds, Transfigurations, Translations of their Bodys, wonderful Fastings for 11, 14, 27, 37 days, Paradysical Representations by Voices, Melodies, and Sensations to the very perceptibility of the Spectators who was about such persons, whose condition as to the inward condition of their Souls, as well as their outward Transactions, yea their very thoughts they could tell during the time of their Exstacies, though they had never seen nor heard of the Persons before.

These and many other Gifts continued as is said, for a matter of three years and a half among all sorts of Persons, Noble, and ignoble, Learned and unlearned, Male and female, young and old, very conspiciously and generally Protestants chiefly, and some Papists, and with some though more refined such and like Gifts last till this very day.

Thus partly I have declared how they was baptized with such energical drops out of that supercaelestial Pillar of Cloud by Gifts and miraculous Manifestations of the Powers from on high.

Now will I tell in short in what a craggy, uneven yea dark

wilderness they have been led since, when hitherto they have been baptized with the fiery Pillar of many inward and outward Tribulations, Sorrows, Temptations, Refinings, Purifications (but nevertheless this Fiere casts such a Light befor'm that securs'm from the persuing Might and dark influence of Egypt and guides'm in that beloved land and City.) This must be through many Tribulations as the Apostels have witnessed, so they felt it and feel it still very smartly. For when these things begun to ferment every where, 1. The Students in the Universities forsake their former way of Learning and applied themselves wholly to Piety and Godliness, (from whence their name was derived) leaving and some burning their heathenish Logiks, Rhetoriks, Metaphysiks. 2. The Laymen or Auditors begun to find fault with the Sermons and Lifes of their Ministers, seeing there was nothing of Ye Power of the Holy Ghost, nor of the Life of Christ and his Apostels. 3. The children under the Information and Tuition of Pietists, (for the Students applied themselves chiefly to the Education of Children, as they do till this day with great, yea extraordinary success) begun to reproof their Parents if they was working an Lye or unrighteousness! yea some in their tender years came to witness strange things of the Invisible worlds. Till at last Demetrius with his Craftsmen begun to see and hear that not only in Lipzig, (from which University this Motion first begun to spread abroad) but almost throughout all Germany and adjacent Contrys these Pietists did persuade and turn away much People, saying that the Form of Godliness without the Power thereof is meer Idolatry and superstition; Yea they saw, how that not only this their craft was endangered by these and set at nought, but also the Temple or Universities of the great Goddess Dianoria or Reason and Ratiocination (which is quite different from that Dionoria or Understanding or Unction whereof John witnesses i Joh. 5. 19. c. 2, 27.) should be despised and her Magnificence (thus the Rectors in the Universities are titled) should be destroyed, if in the place of Dianoria, the Sophia from on high should be adored and instead of

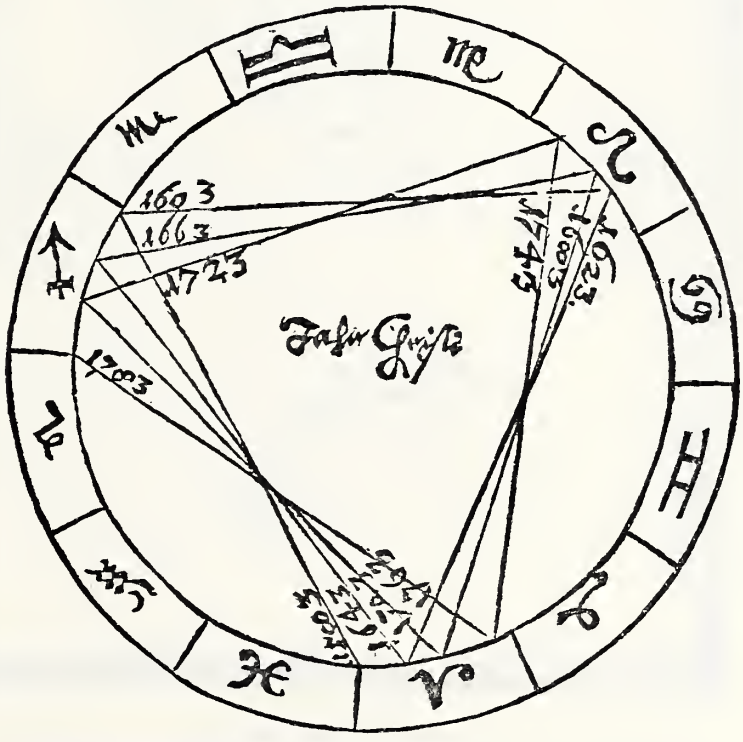
Temples or Universities, the Hearts of men should be consecrated. (Excuse me, dear Heart, that I thus run into an Allegoricall Application, for the very same Comedy was played as you read in the Acts of the Apostels, only the time and persons changed.) Thus the Battel and Insurrection begun, which lasteth till this day.

The Anti-Pietists (so their Adversaries are pleased to call themselves) betook themselves to the secular Arm. But several Princes being partly inclined to the Principles of the Pietists, partly convinced of a superior Agent in these things, took them in their Protection, especially the Elector of Brandeb. In the Principality of Brunswick and Lunebourg, the course was otherwise, for in the very beginning 3 Bishops or Supirts was removed their offices; the same happened in other Countries and Cities, as Erford, Lipzik, Quedlinbourg, Halberstad, Hambourg, Hassen Cassel, where and in Switzerland lately several Ministers are removed and some banished the Country. Thus they increased under the Cross. As for any peculiar Badge or Mark, they have none being above these trifling affections) or any peculiar Church Ceremony or Discipline which should cause a Shism or branch a new sect. For they are not ignorant of the wilderness wherein the Church is and hath been hitherto, and in what a glory she will appear when she comes up from the Wilderness leaning on her beloved. Cant. 8. 5. They see well enough how all the Reformations and Revolutions in this last Age as well as theirs are but Apparitions of the fair colours of the Aurora or Break of the day, mixed with many uncleanness wherein there is no stay (as my beloved Brother and faithful Fellow-Pilgrim in this Wilderness state Seelig hath written) for they are not the substance or sun itself though the various beautiful Apparitions of the Skie, should entice one allmost enamoured in them and to mistake the Harbinger for the King! whom to meet they prepare themselves earnestly, some of 'm laying aside all other engagements whatever, trimming their Lamps and adorning themselves with white silky Holiness and golden Righteousness, that they may be found worthy, when the Bridegroom comes, to receive him

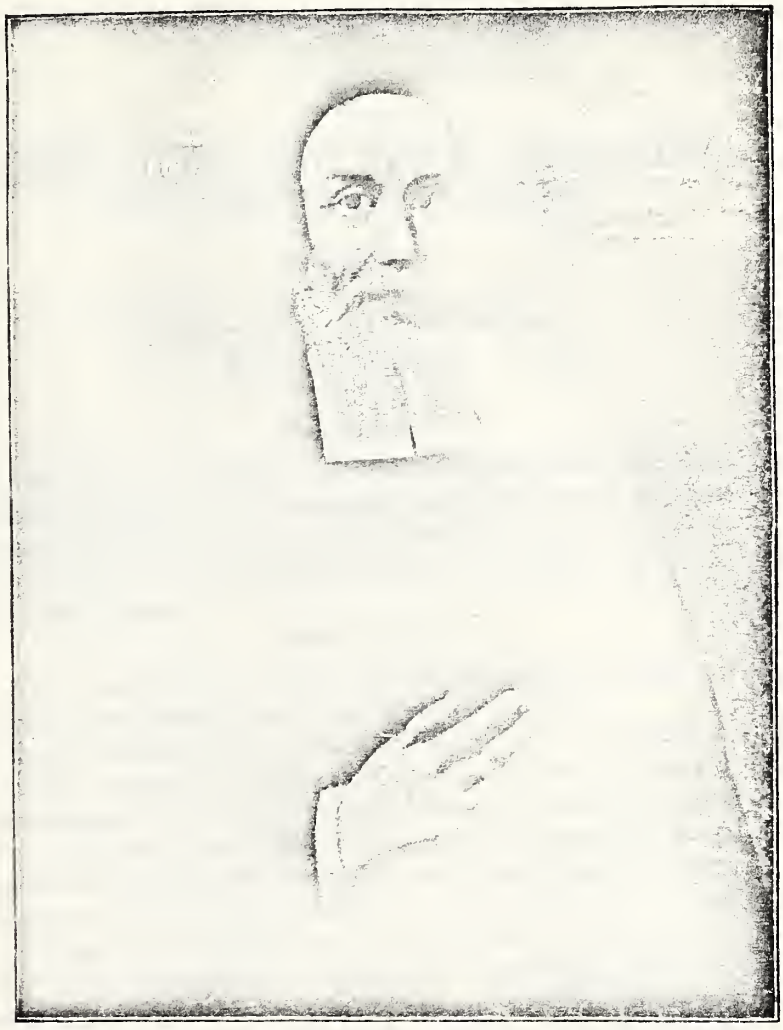
with confidence and joy and to bring him in the House of their Mother, where He will drink with'm that new spicy wine of the Kingdom in all everlasting Progresses. That we also may prepare ourselves with our whole endeavours continually I wish heartily, who do recommend you in the Clifts of the FoundationRock of our Salvation, Jesus Christ. Remaining your fellow Traveller in this blessed work and best engagement.

JOHANNES KELPIUS.

Dated in the Wilderness.



ANCIENT ASTROLOGICAL CHART, AS CAST BY THE EARLY MYSTICS ON THE WISSAHICKON.



ERICUS TOBIAS BIÖRCK.

PASTOR OF THE SWEDISH LUTHERAN CHURCH AT CHRISTIANA (WILMINGTON, DEL.).

PHOTOGRAPH FROM ORIGINAL CANVAS IN SWEDEN.

V.

LETTER TO REV. ERIC BIORCK, CHRISTIANA (WILMINGTON), DELAWARE.

(*Translation*)

To Rev. Magister Eric Biorck,

Pastor at Christianna.

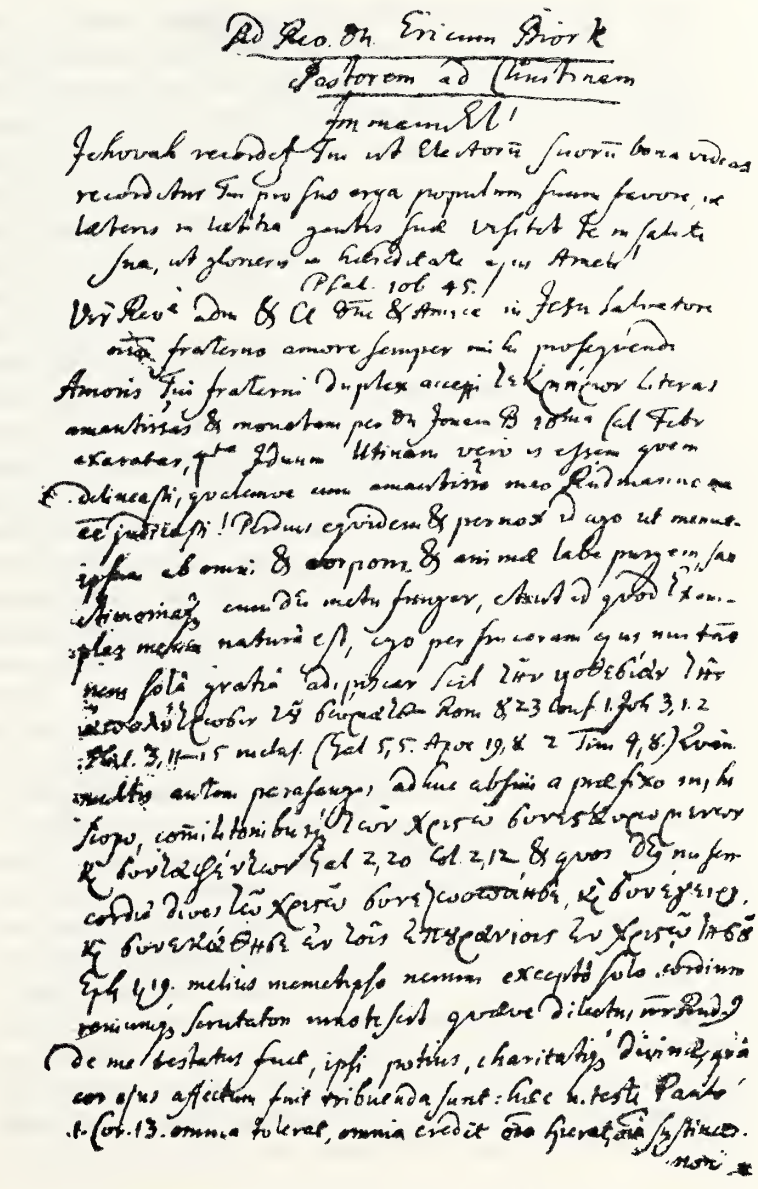
Immanuel.

May Jehovah remember thee, that thou mayest see the good things of his elect; may he remember thee for the sake of his favor toward his people, that thou mayest rejoice in the joy of his nation. May he visit in his salvation, that thou mayest glory in his inheritance. Amen!

Psalm cvi. 45.

Very reverend Sir and Friend, Master and friend in Jesus our Saviour, ever to be regarded by me with fraternal love;

In your beloved letter, written on January 10, and received on January 17, through Mr. Jonas B——, I got a twofold proof of your fraternal love, the epistle and the money. Would to God I were truly such as you have outlined, or such as you have judged me with my most beloved Rudman. By day and by night I attend, indeed, that I may cleanse myself from every blemish both of body and of soul, and I perform my rites in the fear of the Lord, and that I may obtain, by grace alone that which is my pattern by nature, through sincere imitation of him; to wit, the adoption as a son, the redemption of our body (Rom. viii, 23. Compare 1 John iii, 1–2; Phil. iii, 11–15; Gal. iv, 5; Apoc. xix, 8; 2 Tim. iv, 8) How many parasangs as yet I may be distant from the scope (aim) prefixed for myself, becometh known to the fellow-soldiers (Asso-



FACSIMILE OF KELPIUS' LETTER TO REV. ERICUS BIORK.

ciates) of those crucified and buried with (in) Christ (Gal. ii, 20,) and whom God, rich in mercy through Christ, kept secret (in silence) and awakened and placed in the heavenly (places) in Christ Jesus (Eph. i, 20). Better than myself no one knows (my shortcomings) save alone the searcher of hearts and minds; for that which our beloved Rudman bore witness concerning me, is to be attributed rather to himself (Rudman) and to divine charity, wherewithal his heart was affected; these things also, Paul being a witness (1 Cor., xiii). He endureth all, believeth all, hopeth all, sustaineth all.

naught of evil does he think, nor is he irritable, but he rejoiceth in verity. Sometimes I am fully convinced, that you, in no wise spoke for form's sake, as it were, neither your sayings nor your doings, but that with a sincere heart and with pure affections, as becomes a true professor of true Christianity, you did unfold the sentiments of your mind; thus in turn I would you believed that your mirror reflected the image of him looking therein, i. e. of yourself; only, had you not enough to do to be conformed to Christ, our head, in point of a sincere heart and energies (virtues), never could you notice or admire such in others, though you had tried it. For who knoweth the business of a man, if not the spirit of the man, the which is in him: but none among us knoweth the affairs of God, if not God's spirit. And ye who act in the spirit of God, the same He acknowledges, and He would have wished that, also, in others endowed with the same spirit. But the gross, earthly man, & another divine (theologian) does not understand (grasp) the things which are of the divine spirit, since indeed these be to him folly, and thus (therefore) he cannot know (understand) those things, inasmuch as (because) they be worthy of being examined (judged) spiritually. 1 Cor. 2, 14. That is, amiable man, from whom I have received singular (extraordinary) joy, that you, namely, although being (notwithstanding your being) busy in the hall according to the manner of your duty (office), & according to the custom of the Levites, encompassed round about with animals (sportive?), & scrutinizing, instructing

and sacrificing these into the sanctuary & yet looking into their interior or souls, should finally worship in spirit & in truth. Of which threefold cult of a minister, & of the order of the same, grades, duties, &c. I should have many & knotty points, which I might discourse of, if I should not think it superfluous to begin an enumeration thereof in the presence of a learned man: nor with another end do I allude (treat of) to these, than that our relationship in Christ, & our life in the body, of which you have made mention, may take (assume) a greater increase. Nor is it that, holding fast, he may throw into (infuse) this sacred institution a more righteous (way), & sin surrounding us (Hebr. 12, 1) & the concerns of life (2. Tim. 2, 9), as far as to these things it be expedient, against that we do set watch (a lying out on guard). Verily I confess with you that the necessaries of this life (as they are called) or the things pertaining to life heap up great barriers for (against) the Christian soldier, with the witness Wisdom (chap. IX. 15.) the mortal body weigheth down the spirit & crusheth the understanding, an earthly vessel full of many cares. Nor would you incongruously term these 'strange pursuits,' to wit, we are living on strange (foreign) soil, exiles from Paradise, travellers in this world, nowhere secure, exclaiming with David: Woe is me! who am wandering so long, dwelling with the Cedariani (that I sojourn in Meshech, That I dwell among the tents of Kedar!) i. e. in darkened tents (tabernacles), Psalm 120, 5. The Cedariani, indeed, were the children of Ishmaël, not going to inherit with Isaac, the son of Sarah. From which cause we desire this dark tabernacle of our earthly house to be dissolved, in order that we may obtain an edifice, bright & glorious. But indeed, although Abraham may have interceded for Ishmaël even and may have been heard (granted) by the Lord; we also groan, burthened, unwilling to be freed (unclothed), but clothed over & above, that

[1] N. B. The Septuagint in their times read מִזָּרִים = mizzorim = strange, with ר (resh = the letter R). In the exemplar (copy) of to-day it is read with ד (daleth = the letter D), Psalm 19, 14. מִזֵּדִים = mizzedim = from the proud.

our mortality may be absorbed in life. 2. Cor. V. 1. Cor. 15, 51. & N. B. Joh. XI. 26. But of this hidden mystery of the resurrection of the Just, (I will say) not more just now.

But you grieve, most loving little heart, that time must be expended upon the necessaries of this life? I grieve with you! But does it seem to you that you have hope in a strait, (does it seem to you) from this cause that we can perfectly serve God in this life? There is also to me (hope)! I despair not so much of the victory (how very distant although as yet I may be (therefrom)) induced (as I am) chiefly by the following arguments amongst others: I. Paul saith: 1. Cor. 10, 31. Whether ye eat, or drink, do all to the glory of God, & Col. 3, 17. Whatsoever ye do both in words & deed, that shall ye do in the name of Jesus, the Lord, & giving thanks to God the Father through him, compare Eph. 5, 20. 1. Thess. 5, 18. But of the things pertaining to life they do eat for the most part to eat, to drink, words & works. All these things can & ought be made subservient to the glory of God, as saith Paul, therefore the worship of God doth not present (supply) any hindrance, but an incentive & aid. Whatsoever, he saith, pertaineth to the worship of God unto (by) man, ought to be perfect. Scarcely was it lawful in the old Testament, when seeking many things for sacrifices, to make use of an emblem, because it was not in every way perfect. Hence therefore as if the field of victory (were) in these very particulars appertaining to life, it seems to me to be made manifest (open), if in truth (no wonder) I shall have taken heed thereunto, that (I shall be) free from the cares of the gentiles, Matt. 6. end, content with my food & raiment (covering), see Tim. 6, 8, from the desire of becoming rich & from avarice manifestly averse, ibid., v. 9, 10. (entirely) not entangled (hampered) by the affairs (concerns, duties) of life, 2. Tim. 2, 4. I say, if not held captive by all these very things, but I shall have been found master of the same, 1. Cor. 6, 12. Because he is a slave of these things, he cannot serve God, moreover we cannot serve two masters, but in how far he shall have returned into servitude, & be master over them, in so far does he

render to God a perfect service in these things (hence appear the degrees of perfection) nevertheless dominion consisteth not in possessing nothing (for what sort of king is he without subjects) but in the mind from the things possessed, not in a possessed (mind) [whereof the sure signs are thus α) in acquired things he rejoiceth not, β) concerning the lost, he is not worried, γ) concerning those which are to come & not yet acquired, he is affected by no disquiet] That however the saints of old have exhibited a perfect cult unto God, & that it is possible now-a-days to exhibit such to God, that is, by not serving secular (worldly) affairs, but by ruling over them, & that an holocaust perfect out of these things can be offered, I am convinced.

II. The Virtue & Efficacy of a lively Faith: Christ saith unto us, Mark 9, 23. All things are possible to him that believeth. Luke confirms 17, 6. why not therefore also rule over fleeting things? Why not also in these very matters exhibit to God a perfect service? Is the prince of this world more valiant & more powerful (potent) than Christ our Saviour & Preserver? (Has) not Paul of long-standing experience in these matters . . . having been taught thoroughly, he exclaims: I can perform all things through him that strengtheneth me (or, strengtheneth me by an inner, vital, substantial, radical force). By (with) Christ, Phil, 4, 13. as though he would say: even as without Christ I can do nothing, John 15. 5. so with Christ I can do every thing, who with express words promised: whatsoever ye shall have asked in prayer, believing, ye shall obtain, Matt. 21. 22. & that without any exception. It is not, therefore, that I shew my inability any further (more amply), since as hath been shewn, through Christ we may get all power, according to that well-known passage of John 1, 12. Whosoever, NB. whosoever indeed have received him, to those he hath given that power, to become sons of God: therefore, if (we be) sons & coheirs of all things that Christ hath, even as he himself testifieth: He that believeth on me, the same hath all things with me, or he shall even do greater things than these, John 14. 12. (the works that I do, shall he do also; &

greater works than these shall he do.) And he who shall have conquered (towards the possibility of conquering!) to him shall I give to sit with me on my throne, as I also have sat down a victor with my Father on his throne, Apoc. 3, end. And John I. Epistle, 5, 4. Whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world, & this is the victory, that hath overcome the world, even our Faith.

Finally, in the third place, what causes, certainly, my Pyrrhonism (skepticism) & doubting to blush, is that well-known love of perfection, with which we are bound up. Paul, describing the energy thereof, (to use an hyperbolic, though not incongruous epithet), the omnipotence in the golden to Rom. chapter 8th, finally, after a long enumeration of the parts, he exclaims: But in all these things we surpass more than we conquer, & the more so are we conquerors, through the Christ loving you. Who, therefore, in these least things, would despair of victory, as if the necessaries of life, or secular concerns, could present such obstacles unto the Christ-loving soul, that she could not please her bridegroom of the perfect? Whether or no, he who loved his own in his son before the foundation of the world, & gave to us his only begotten son, in the likeness of ourselves, unto a most ignominious death, will he, I say, donate his spirit sparingly, & imperfectly, or a spirit, inperfect, mixed, inadequate? Away with such a thought (not to say: a suspicion) of a loving soul concerning so loveworthy a God! John the Baptist eloquently testifieth the contrary of Christ: To whom, he saith, God gave spirit without measure, i. e. immeasurable & entire. He himself, of a verity, is the vine, we the branches thereof, John XV., now with what sap & spirit the vine is nourished (poured through), with the same, also, the branches (are nourished). Hence, also, concerning us Paul, Tit. 3, 6. he hath poured out his holy spirit upon us, richly, opulently, plentifully, exceeding all desire, compare Rom. 5, 5. Also, in how much we are impelled by the spirit of Christ, in so much do we bid farewell to the spirit of this world: or, in how far we love Christ, in so far do we pursue with hatred worldly & perishable things; until the *perfected love* (1 John 4, 18) thrusteth out every fear

of all enemies, & the accomplisher crowneth the conquerors with a perfect crown.

But to revert to myself:

How happeneth it, my Kelpius! that unto thy God, so love-worthy, so rich, so liberal & in endless ways transcending thine every desire, in these least things, in temporal affairs, in perishable things, in foreign things, in external & transitory affairs (not to say eternal & spiritual), I say, in these thou hast not hitherto shewn the acme of perfection & scarcely shewest it even now? Knowest thou not that all the saints of old have shewn it, & art thou not very sure that it is possible even now, while the very same spirit survives, your leader, your guide, your helper & accomplisher? What sort of an account, I pray, wilt thou give, hereafter, to the judge, judging without regard to persons & that according to the works of every one? To these & similar objections, I answer: Man, indeed, is born, not immediately on the first day, nor immediately in the first year, & in seven years he reaches manhood, yet, nevertheless, man is perfect, he is furnished (endowed) with all things constituting the human body: granted, even if all the members be very delicate, & the whole body subject to various accidents, vicissitudes, sorrows & diseases: & the mind (subject to) instructions, chastisements, & exercises & an infinite number of other things: yet he despaireth not in all these, that he will once reach the age of manhood. But if these things are certain in the mortal generation, how much more (are they so) in the regeneration, when (where) various degrees of perfection are given. Justification, namely, is accomplished through faith by one act indeed (just as the natural generation & filiation, so to speak): but renovation & sanctification are to be pursued throughout our entire lives, until we may reach the goal, i. e. the age of manhood in Christ, according to that dictum: And he that is righteous, let him do righteousness still: & he that is holy, let him be made holy still. Apoc. 22. & that well-known saying: He that doth not advance in that which is good, retrogradeth: he that doth not progress on the holy road, regresseth. Namely, even as we advance from child-

hood to the age of manhood, gradually, so, little by little, (we advance) from vices to virtue, &, in turn, from virtues unto virtues, 2. Pet. 1, 5. 6. 7. & Apoc. chapters I. & II. where the seven degrees; we go to the age of manhood, or the age of perfection, not in the life to come, but in this life: likewise, also, in this life, sins must be overcome; from the very bottom & the root they must be extirpated. And just as, when the sun ascendeth above the horizon, the darkness is gradually dispelled, the mists pass away by degrees; until, standing at mid-day, he triumph completely over darkness. Thus Christ, the sun & light of the spiritual & new world, not only beginneth to dispel in us the reign of darkness & foul whirlpool night, but through faith in ourselves, he conducteth the war unto perfect victory. But faith according to that passage in Paul, 1. Cor. 13, end, is of this life, not of the life to come: indeed our errors on account of the necessaries of life (of which I began speaking) belong to this life, not the future one, therefore, we must here triumph over these. Nor did the Israelites sin in that, because they did not cast out the Canaanites in one day, or in one year, but in that, they believed not the command of God nor his promise of victory, as if He were commanding impossibilities: who afterwards were willing, but in vain, because God was unwilling so I also, although I have not yet attained to thorough manhood (Ecclesiastes, 7. 29) & I have not yet cast out of my land worldly desires, & consequently not all Canaanites, yet am I daily bent upon it, that I make greater advances in the camp of the enemies, until that I may be crowned with true quietude of soul as a perfect conqueror of all enemies, having vanquished & utterly extirpated them. But if truly, according to the likeness of that worthless, cowardly & timid servant (compare Apoc. 21, 8., Matt. 25), I should despair in this life of the gain (advantage) & the victory, & should accuse the Lord, as if He were commanding impossibilities, of severity, I should not obey His command of perfection, Matt. 5, 48. of perfect sanctification, Lev. 11, 44. chapter 19, 2. 1. Pet. 1, 15, 16. I should distrust Him, He offering aid & victory, I should delay the war against the enemies, assailing me

in this present world, to the future world, where no enemies are given; I say by doing this, I should sin, & deservedly would I be hurled at last into the lowermost darkness, inasmuch as I, who would not go out during the six days (as those would not, who were idle), i. e. in this life, I would seek the manna on the Sabbath day, i. e., in the life to come.

I have rested with the foolish virgins, the bridegroom having entered, & the gates having been closed, I was knocking, i. e. in this life, as if it were night, I neglected to walk in the perfect light of Christ, & the like of her I went about the will-o'-the-wisp, but I did not go forth to meet him a-shouting with the prudent ones, while it was midnight as yet, & the gate open, & the bridegroom was coming on. In this manner I should be like a child, who, if he were to reach manhood hereafter, should foreknow how great hardships were yet to be overcome with great pain, to obtain wherewith he should be fed & clothed, how great annoyances were to be undergone at the schools, & chastisements to be sustained for cultivating the mind towards the acquisition of prudence in concerns of business: I say, considering (weighing) thoroughly these & other grievances of that sort, he should despair of obtaining virile age in this life, & place his trust in death, as if dead, he should at least come off a perfect man. But dropping this fool, I have chosen to imitate the infant Redeemer, who grew both in age & wisdom before God & men: this one remained hidden from the twelfth year of his age for eighteen years. He remained hidden, I say, but he lived well, i. e. he grew from day to day, until he went forth, in his thirtieth year, *A Man*. And, after that, he most perfectly fulfilled the will of his Father for the salvation of the entire world, he went out of this life, &, sitting at the right hand of his omnipotent Father, he sendeth his Holy Spirit unto all believing on him. He also aideth mine infirmities; for me & in me he pleadeth with unspeakable sighing (Rom. 8, 26) & he accomplisheth in me, that I am both willing & at times thoroughly do the will of my Father Abba. And so the virtue of the Almighty is perfected in mine infirmity.

I believe, therefore, according to the testimony of the entire Scripture with all Saints: *That our Father wisheth, wisheth, I say, that his children be free from every fault: that God wisheth they may withhold themselves from every sin; mankind were created by Him for justice, & He donated them with the spirit of His Son. That Christ desireth that those be purified from every sin, for the expiation of whom, he himself became a victim, & that the virgin soul is to be delivered up to him; a virgin, I say, chaste & devoid of every wrinkle or vice, he entrusted her unto us. That the Holy Spirit effecteth that this will of the Father & of the Son be accomplished in us as yet in this life.* And, although, thus far I may have been subjected to infinite temptations & may have borne my cross daily, nor have always advanced with equal steps, nay rather have fallen oftentimes, & as to that, into the horrid whirlpool & filthy mire (Psalm XL. 3.) & have drawn near the gate of death (Psalm IX.), insomuch that with the same David, I should have cried out: (Psalm 38.) *Jehovah, turn not upon me fiercely! Punish me not in thine anger!* [This chastisement may be of the healing not of the killing one: with the rod of love of a father toward his son, Hebr. 12., not of a judge pursuing with the sword of judgment]. *For thy darts are thrust upon me, thy hand presseth me down* [*& with Job, chap. 6. The arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poison whereof my spirit drinketh up, while I am wrestling with the terrors of God.*] Thy chastisement in my heart, the continued representation of Thy dreadful judgment, & the long lasting absence of Thy gratuitous consolations, bringeth it about, that I begin to perceive nothing if not (only) sin within me & without. *For nothing is sound in my body* [viciousness dwelleth in me! for I know & daily experience that the good dwelleth not in me, i. e. in my flesh or in the human nature; but sin dwelleth in me, against this] so great is Thine anger, that Thou didst not spare Thy son, who was a stranger to sin, but didst give him over into death, & madest an execration for execrable me, that I too may become ingrafted in that similitude of his death, to the end that the sinful body may be cast off, nor that I be in bondage of sin any longer, for in my limbs there is nothing uninjured on account of my sin.

VI.

LETTER TO MARY ELIZABETH GERBER IN VIRGINIA.

To Mary Elizabeth Gerber in Virginia,

(*Translation.*)

October 8th, 1704.

Contents:—An answer to her letter, in which she requests an expression of my opinion concerning the Quakers.
Immanuel! Granted the request. Eph. 1, 17–23. In Jesu C., our Lord, most esteemed & revered Sister:

YOUR beloved missive of Aug. 23rd '4, duly received. I rejoice in that you would awake from the death-like slumber of sin of the world, & from worldly sentiments, & in that you earnestly covet the inheritance of the Saints, & would walk in the light of the Son of God. I, likewise, entertain the confident hope, that the God of Peace, hath, indeed, begun in your soul the work of the new creation (regeneration), & will, through the blood of the everlasting Covenant, also, perfect the same unto the day of Jesu Christ. As regards other matters, & them also (the Friends?) (less scattered in the communities of the present day, & in spirit bound, expecting the hope of Sion) (Zion) these let us carry in our hearts, for God, & pray for them—your love requesteth of me, all manner of experience & cognition, to the end that you may prove, *what be the best;* especially in these latter, dangerous times, in which not only the mockers (scoffers), described by the Apostles (2. Pet. 3, 3.2. Tim. 3, 1) do in all stations of life & in all religions so prodigiously increase, but also there have gone forth all manner of angels & spirits (1 John 4.7.2. Pet. 2, 1. Matth. 24.

11. 1. Cor. 11. 19. 1. Tim. 4. 1.) & they have instituted congregations, one arming against the other. Here Temples of the Lord! Here the Catholic Church of Christ! Here the Orthodox Evangelical! Here the Chosen Reformed! Here the again-born baptized (Anabaptists?)! Here the Folk (People) of God, walking in the Light, etc. Now some of these have their distinct praise, gift of beauty, strength, might, power, wisdom, order, light &c., the which, indeed, are apparent to an impartial eye, whilst at the same time, we perceive, that they have received said ornaments but piecemeal, & not in the highest & most irrefragable perfection: the one hath received this, the other that, none (not one) of them hath received all (ornaments) alone in the highest degree: all in part, not one in united harmony. One possesseth something apart from the rest & very similar to the image of perfection, which is wanting to the other, the latter, in turn, hath something, that is wanting to the former, &c. Howbeit every one vaunteth as being the best & most comely amongst all these women, & the last (of which you, dear Sister, write) claims to be the only dove, dearest unto her mother, yea, the chosen one of her mother, yea, verily, the mother or the very self of the New Jerusalem. But unto this very day are not agreed amongst themselves, *as to which of them deserveth the chief place:* yet why speak of their reaching an agreement? They have no such intention: they even contend among themselves, but not as did erstwhile the Disciples of Christ, as to who should be regarded chief in the Mystery of Grace (devotion), but which of them be most accomplished in the mystery of malice, the arch heretic, yea, even the Babylonian harlot herself: nor are they content with reviling, those that are in power use the sword, those lacking the sword make swords of their tongues, & with such blind rage, that it moves to pity; first, that they are unable to recognize themselves; second, nor those against whom they are fighting; thirdly, least of all are they aware of what they profess (this is especially true of the last).

"Who are they, pray?" You, esteemed Sister, will probably ask, & how shall I learn to know them, that I may not err in my

judgment, & become a partaker of their contention, & come into danger of the judgment, that needs must follow?" Answer: This is taught by Paul, Gal. 4. Coloss. 2., by the Apocalypse & by the Song of Songs of Sol., as followeth, namely: *They all are sisters amongst themselves & children of Jerusalem, but not of her that is free, but of her that is a handmaid & in thraldom with her children.* Which becometh clear (see p. 9. 10. Gal. 4), that they all serve weak & paltry tenets (statutes). They observe days & months & feasts & seasons, each in his particular manner & differently, as compared with the others, (hence the origin of the strife, schism or sects among them). Yet in this they are all agreed, that they *serve* their own tenets, which they love, & which they recognize as good & true; these tenets they exalt, defend, propagate, & extol before others (proselytize), etc. All of which (sects, etc.) (however profligate some of them may be) have a semblance of wisdom & truth; wherefore, also, Paul calleth all such tenet-service or living according to law—"Philosophy" or love of wisdom, Col. 2. Of these (people) they teach in the schools of the present day, of each distinctly, as well as of what truth they hold, so far as demonstrable in Holy Writ, but the body or the entity herself & the occult wisdom & truth are not therein (in these meetings), but in Christ, in whom there lie hidden all treasures of wisdom & understanding, yea the entire plenitude of the Deity dwelleth corporally in Him. Through Him we are rendered entirely participant of the entity of all tenets deduced from (mentioned in) Holy Writ. (As Paul adduceth a renowned example of circumcision, Col. 2, V. 11), but such tenets as are not mentioned in the Scriptures, these appertain (are referable) to mankind, commandments & doctrines; Vol. 2. 22. N.B. Matth. 15. 9. Isaiah (Esa) 29. 13. unto which, indeed, some of these church-women do more homage than to those, which are called the "shadows of the body" by Paul, Col. 2. 17. Hebr. 8. 5. chap. 10. 1. Whereby they are clearly recognized, of what mind they be, namely, children of Sinai or Hagar, of the bond-woman & not of the free understanding, yea of Sinai, even of his great splendor,

light, spirit, clearness, enlightenment, mutes etc. Especially in the New Testament, far more splendidly than in the Old, in which it is more spiritual: Thus it is ... wherefore, up to this time, naught else hath appeared in Christendom (primitive Christianity excepted); for what of Zion hath been there & still abideth, is only in the desert, whereof we shall soon speak more amply; hence it hath come to pass, that many a one, inexperienced in the word of justice, & that such, whose senses were not practiced in discriminating, have honored the bond-woman, instead of the woman (mistress) herself, &, likewise, regarded the bond-slave for the Son. To the end that you, esteemed Sister, may not fall into the same error, I shall briefly touch upon what is meant by the Woman, the free and only Dove of the rightful Solomon, or the New Jerusalem, so that, by comparing the one with the other, you may recognize both more readily. Isaiah saith, chap. 65, that in the New Jerusalem, which the Lord willed to create on earth (N.B. on earth, &, therefore, not in heaven, though she descendeth from heaven) the voice of lamentation & of weeping shall be heard no more. Likewise saith He in the Apocalypse, chap. 21. 4. death shall be no more, nor sorrow, nor wailing (crying), nor pains. But whereof doth a repentant heart complain & weep more, than of sin? What else is the sting of death, than sin? What filleth us with greater grief, than sin committed? Where is the loudest wailing & the greatest pain, if not in the anxiety of being born again (regeneration), John 16.21. Hence, the sense hereof is: In the New Jerusalem there shall be no more sinners, none that stand in need of repentance, none that suffer the pains of regeneration: (as we read in the last verse: Naught that is vile shall enter therein, nor that worketh abomination & falsehoods), but regenerated ones only, holy, just, new men, who can sin no more, 1 John 3.9. chap. 8, 10. Heb. 9.28., who, therefore, die no more, neither bodily nor spiritually, Apoc. 21, 4. 1 Cor. 15, 26. 54. John 11. 26. Luke, 20. 36. In brief: The curse and death, which are laid in & upon the entire creation (creature), by the fall of the first Adam, under which even to this hour all creatures

have groaned, Rom. 8, 18–25. shall be completely removed by the atonement & efficacy of the everlasting redemption in the blood of the second Adam, offered up on the cross, when He shall come a second time bodily (I say bodily, because some would have it but spiritually, whereas it shall be both; still, however, it is only in the mystery of devotion as yet see A.A. 1, 10.2. (acts of Apostles) Thess. 5, 10. that He appear glorious in & with His Saints & wonderful in & with (thus readeth the original text) all the faithful, which Paul, Rom. 8. calleth the manifestation of the children of God. Who are the children of the resurrection, Luke, 20. 36. This shall be the year of the great jubilee, when all prisoners will be set free, & each one will return to his parental inheritance, the which we have lost in our first father Adam, whereof the entire Old Testament is filled. Of this the Apostles & first Christians had but the firstlings, but not the fullness, not the perfection (Rom. 8. 23) (Cor. 13, 9–2 Cor. 5. 7.) the which they awaited, as they had, indeed, so plentifully received the coming (future) of Christ in the spirit, as no congregation or church after Him even to this hour. They possessed all manner of spiritual gifts both for their inner glorification, as well as for the outer working of miracles. Thus, in their community, there was not heard any longer the voice of groaning, weeping & lamentation, but that of joy & rejoicing (1 A. 2, 46. 47. C. 3, 31. Rom. 5, 3–5. Phil. 4, 4. 1 Pet. 4. 13). If an unclean one, or a *hypocrite* or a liar wanted to join them, he either was liable to instant death, or he was punished in the presence of ALL, & the hidden things of his heart became manifest, so that he had to fall upon his countenance (prone) & adore God & confess that God was truly in him. 1 Cor. 4, 24, 25. (though these did not long enjoy their happiness, for the great apostasy & Antichrist was up already and doing in their days. Thess. 2, 7.) And yet they became not prouder & filled, as though they had enough already & wanted no more (as in Laod. Apoc. 3) for they had seized (grasped) the utmost dove-like simplicity, the which alone seeketh the King's heart, that is not satisfied with any gifts, until that she have the Giver himself, (not

to say (much less) that she loveth the Giver for the sake of the gifts) but to exclaim all along: Come, Lord Jesu! yea, the Spirit himself & the bride said, Come! And he that beareth witness of all this, saith: yea, I come quickly! amen. Whence all, that are participant of the same Spirit cry, by day & by night, at all places, whithersoever they have been scattered: "Yes, come Lord Jesu!" And, pray, dear Sister, how can the bride be prepared without the bridegroom? Or, is the perfection to be wrought in the spirit only? But then, what of the resurrection from death & the redemption of this body, for which all members of Christ do, with Paul, so anxiously cry (Rom. 8, 15. Phil. 2, 20. 21. 1 Cor. 15. entirely. Col. 3, 4. 1 John 3, 2. 2. Peter 3. entirely. 2. Cor. 5, 1–11.) Did Christ, then, in spirit only ascend into heaven? &, hence, is He to be expected in spirit only? Shall the selfsame Jesus, whom his disciples did see to ascend bodily, from the Mount of Olives come back again, just as his disciples saw Him ascending into heaven: why, then, do our Laodiceans of the present day declare, that He hath (is) come already? *"He is come," they say* (as I myself have heard and read in their writings). *"He is come, Friends, we bide none other!"* Is, then, he, whom the Apostles & primitive Christians waited for, an other one, than he, whom they had (seen) already ascend, & who sent them from heaven after ten days the promise of the Father, namely: The Holy Spirit? Or, did they await Him merely for these ten days, but not thereafter, because they now had His spirit? Why, then, as aforesaid, do the spirit himself & the bride, at the conclusion of the Apocalypse, cry: "Come, Lord Jesu!"

Yes, dear Friends! If He be come & ye bide none other, why, then, do we hear at all your meetings, especially when these are most godly, as you say, the voice of sobbing, of weeping, lamentation, yea anguish, sorrow, pain & ululation as for one dead? Is this the jubilant voice of the bride for her bridegroom? If, however, ye do rejoice by virtue of being moved by His Spirit as the (since) Spirit of Christ is made manifest among you at times, just as amongst all other congregations) O, then, do for once give

honor unto God & confess: *that you have, indeed, received a glimpse of His beauty through His spirit in your hearts, but never yet have ye seen the Lord of Glory himself with His royal diadem, wherewith His Mother shall crown Him on the day of His exaltation!* Or, had ye seen Him, your heart would rejoice in so much, that your joy would nevermore be taken from you (John 16, 22), since, as you say, you must at every meeting await Him anew. Yea, if ye had but His spirit, the other Paraclete, whom the Father giveth that He remain supreme (John 14, 16), remaining and dwelling in you, ye would not begin to rejoice as at a marriage feast for the time, but with the woman in the desert & her seed, together with the Spirit, ye would cry day and night: "Come, Lord Jesu!" & patiently await His coming. But if ye be the holy people, God's only people, whence cometh it, that the number of the uncircumcised, of the unclean, of the abominable & horrid liars, & of all manner of sinners, is far greater among you, than the number of the just? Have not your tenets (statutes), symbols or sacraments, whereby ye are distinguished from other communities, become, at present, the pall of (for) vices, under cover of which the worst hypocrites can conceal, yea really do conceal themselves? Saith old George Fox in his Journal: *As soon as any statute, though it be the way of the Apostles, hath become a cloak for hypocrites, they are an abomination before God.* Now, should I consider your society the most beautiful among women, that is free from blemish & hereditary evil, Cant. 4. 10., as the community of the first-born, begotten in the perfection of justice? Alas, ye are not even like unto the community of the Apostles & first Christians, who were but a picture & a shadow of the future (community)! How could ye be the (community) of which they (Apostles & first Christians) prophesied, & for whose manifestation they did so earnestly pray? The best among you must work out their salvation with fear & trembling. Now, the spirit of fear & trembling is the spirit of Hagar & Sinai, Heb. 12, 21. & not the spirit of Hagar & Sarah, which is the spirit of the new creation in the new Adam, Jesus, the Mediator & Founder of the new cove-

nant, & (the spirit) crieth: Abba, Father, Rom. 8, 15. Gal. 4, 6. & worketh in us a *perfect love,* which expelleth fear, 1 John 4, 18. & (is) a joy on the day of Judgment, as is (felt) by those who have penetrated from death unto life, John 5, 24. (Concerning this joyous confidence & assurance, read Rom. 8. 31–39., which are wrought by the spirit of mercy (grace) & faith, (which proceedeth) from Zion & the Glad Tidings, which (spirit) gladdeneth the heart & maketh it to feel gay towards God & man, so that we will, without compulsion, willingly & gladly, do good unto all men, suffer all things, serve every one, &c. But the servile spirit of Sinai is for ever complaining, mourning, murmuring, anguishing & tormenting the conscience forever more, & yet being unable to help, nor yet to impart strength, since always vexing). Now ye have, indeed, caught a glimpse (of the true community, but deeming the same endangered as yet & fixing a limit (measure), therefore you give those coming (to you) opportunely, to understand that ye have as yet not reached the tranquilly flowing nether waters of perfection because these are inexhaustible (lost in inexhaustibility) —But, esteemed Sister, I seem to have forgotten you, in apostrophizing (addressing) others, while writing to you. But may the Lord give unto (you) her the spirit of Wisdom & Scrutiny, so that she may, with Mary, choose the best part. But methinks I hear her say: This would I fain (have) should I forget thee, Jerusalem, may my right be forgotten. My tongue must cleave unto my palate, whenever I suffer not, Jerusalem, thy memory to be my greatest joy. This is the free one! This is the fairest amongst women. This is the dove, the only one of her mother, the dearest, the chosen one of her mother. But, alas, where is she! Who leadeth me unto her! Since my former leaders have been but misleaders, & those that offered oil unto me, were the petty merchants in Chaldea. Tell me, where He pastureth, whom my soul loveth, where He resteth on the noon-day of His greatest power, that I may but wander to & fro among the herds of His companions! Where, pray, is the fairest of women, so that I may not become enamored of one of the women, described above, & be contaminated by her.

Hath (is) the only dove, indeed, flown heavenward, or, if she be as yet on earth, tell me, in which forest she resteth, and in which city am I to find her abode? The answer is: She is, indeed, as yet on earth, & she was glorious to behold in the days of the Apostles. But, after she had given birth to the self-same boy, she fled into the desert (wilderness). Apoc. 12., whence she shall soon ascend, leaning upon her friend. Cant. 8, 5. (Song of Songs). And when she shall see the above-mentioned daughters, then will she carefully prove them; the queens themselves & the concubines will praise her. Cant. 6, 8. (9). Meseemeth, however, I hear my esteemed Sister say: "This answer is too obscure (dark); I can not understand it. Describe unto me the dove in her true form, & her feathers, so that I may know her. Yes, tell me, without concealing anything, her place of abode; for I shall not cease from seeking, until that I may have found her, though it should be at the price of my goods & blood, yea, though it cost me my life." Answer: May the Lord strengthen her in her resolution, & vouchsafe that this zeal may nevermore become extinguished in her, but ever burn brightly! I, in proportion to my slight ability, shall gladly do my best. Nevertheless, I must, esteemed Sister, overtly tell her; that we can neither find nor know this dove, *except we ourselves become as doves,* &, as soon as we be such, forthwith we fly into the wilderness to join the other. This wisdom was not concealed from David; hence his yearning, Psalm 55. 7. 8. Would that I had wings as doves, that I might fly & perchance remain! Lo, then would I fly afar off & lodge in the wilderness. Selah. But whoso desire to fly, if he fly not well, will inevitably plunge himself into danger, wherein many a soul perisheth. Therefore, the Lord saith in Isaiah c. 30, 15. N.B. Jer. 14, 10.

If ye remained still, ye would be aided; by being quiet & by hoping, ye would be strong. Hence they chatter only & mourn with Isaiah (38, 15. c. 59, 11.) as a dove day & night. And when their eyes have become as doves' eyes, Cant. 1, 15. c. 4, 1. they look only at their beloved & hide themselves in His wounds, as in the clefts of the rock, Cant. 2, 14. To the end that they may not, like

the foolish & decoyed (or timid, without heart) dove Ephraim, now invoke Egypt, & then run to Assyria, Hosea 7, 11., imploring of these spiritual, of those corporal (bodily) food & aid, for there be dove-vendors as well as oil-vendors, to whom the silly doves & virgins run. Oh, he that rightly knoweth these, in verity doth he beware of them. The oil signifieth the *Spirit,* the dove, the proper form of the bride of the lamb, which is *love.* Thus there are to be noted especially, according to the number of the five prudent & five foolish virgins, five things, that our five senses be not injured in their maidenly, dovelike simplicity in Christ, 2, Cor. 11, 3. Matth. 10. 16., namely: 1. The bridegroom, 2. the virgins, 3. the vendors, 4. the oil, 5. the lamps. But, may God give her the understanding of the spirit of Jesu Christ, that she, according to the admonition of Paul, 2. Tim. 2, 15. may rightfully divide the word of truth, &, after she have flown from the filth of the world by the knowledge (recognition) of the Crucified for her sin, 2. Pet. 2, 20. nor, indeed, purchase the oil or light herself for the bridegroom; nor forthwith regard some, though they have oil in their lamps, as prudent virgins, because these also have arisen at midnight of the great schism (falling off), & will testify to the universal slumber in sin of the world. Verily, the vendors sit not only at Rome & in the great church, where, alas, God have mercy! there is little oil, but, indeed, a great, yea Egyptian & palpable darkness. Even the little foxes spoil the vineyard, even men catch & kill the doves.

Should the virgins that are cleansed (washed off) by the blood of the lamb, from the temeration of (with) their first woman (wife), Apoc. 1, 5. chap. 7, 14. & who now follow the lamb, Apoc. 14, 4., again be defiled with other women, because these may be more comely (beautiful) than the first? Let that (thought) be far removed! Those, however, that do it, will, in time, find their second purification more difficult than the first.

Now, my dear Sister might say, " Even so would I, as a chaste, pure virgin, follow the lamb, the spotless, the pure, even the lamb of God, slain for us, whithersoever it goeth, because I, too, have been ransomed by it. But how am I to walk, in this Sardian disper-

sion, among so many church women, that I may not soil nor bedraggle my garments, Rev. 3, 4. c. 14, 4.?" Answer: If she be really in earnest, & if she be conscious of a manly, strong & genuine (uncolored) *love* in her to Jesus & His bride, yea, if such a *simple love,* which hateth duplicity, Mar. 6, 24. 2. Cor. 6, 14, 15. 1. John 2. 15. Gal. 1, 10. Jac. 4, 4. If she find, I say, this love in her, or at least an essential longing thereafter, to the end that this love may once be perfected in her, & she be rooted in & founded upon this love, Eph. 3, 17. Is it thus? Come on! She is rapt of the dove-kind! Nothing can harm her so long as she abide therein, if she herself forfeit not this love, either, 1. *By slighting the same:* or, 2. By breaking forth too early. In order to prevent this the only mean is, to fly into the desert on eagle's wings, where, even now, the woman, the bride of the lamb, is most assuredly nourished unto her time appointed (which is very nigh at hand) after the expiration of which, she will break forth, first, as the dawn, afterwards, fair as the moon, then, chosen as the sun, but finally, terrible as vanguards of hosts, Cant. 6, 9. "O yes! would she say, whoso would rightly understand this all, to be preserved from the dragon!"

But, dear Soul! pray do not entertain melancholy thoughts concerning these subjects, nor imagine strange things, for in *virginal love,* all things are contained. If she in childlike simplicity weigh and consider all that I have already said, I do not doubt, but that God will vouchsafe prosperity (thrivingness). But, if she understand all in its first sense, then, God be praised, & may He grant the will & the accomplishment. But, if not? Then, let her be patient, & make no ado, for the time might come, when it would be serviceable unto her. I must now hasten towards the conclusion, yet it will not, as I hope, be disagreeable, if I talk a little more about the wilderness. This is twofold: 1. Corporal & 2. Spiritual. In the corporal sense, there are again two divisions (yet this sense is unfathomable). Herein it signifieth those who fled into the wilderness before the great apostasy (falling off), soon after the times of the Apostles (whereof the life of the primitive fathers

(forefathers) is worthy of perusal). Whereof in Rev. c.12ψλ to 6. verse 2. Here, the corporeal wilderness of the entire Christianity, that hath fallen off (apostatized), is meant, which is called the great city of Babylon & Egypt, in which the woman, that is, all the true members of Christ & children of the higher (upper) Jerusalem are hidden, amongst all religions & stations in life, as well as excluded, Apoc. 12. at the end (for desert signifieth as much as "hidden" or not manifest). Therefore, we ought not to despise any religion, because Christ still hath in all His true members; nor must we regard any religion too high, as hath been said above sufficiently. The spiritual sense, however, though it, too, is inexhaustible, may be subdivided into two heads: 1. In regard to the whole community or body of Christ, which we shall, for the present, not discuss, 2. With regard to every member of this body in particular. Just as now the entire body of Christ is in the desert or hidden, so also is every member or soul in particular. No reasoning, though it put on all spectacles, can recognize the latter, yet may be angered at them, & will take counsel to extirpate these hidden ones of the Lord, Psalm 83, 4. Coloss. 3, 3. But the Lord hideth himself secretly in his tent (pavilion). But as regards the actual state of a soul in the wilderness, I cannot at present describe. If She, dear soul! become rightly participant of the dove-kind, she will, as aforesaid, also obtain eagle's wings to fly thereinto. Then will she *experience,* what it be, to chatter (coo) as a lonely turtle-dove, day and night for the longed for loved one, how, meanwhile, the loved one feed her with the hidden manna, Apoc. 2, 7. How He will let her know the secret & hidden wisdom, Psalm 5, 8. Psalm 28, 14 . . . which God ordained (prescribed) before the world . . . splendor. How He will donate unto her His great, secret goods (treasures), which are better than life, Psalm 31, 20. How He will teach her to know the hidden God & Saviour, who leadeth His saints so wonderfully, Isaiah 45, 15. & the Father who seeth in secret Matth. 6, 6. She will experience, how this friend of her soul sweeten the bitter waters of tribulations and sufferings in march through the wood of life & mild yoke of His cross, Exod. 15. Matth. 11.

How the hard rock in Horeb becomes (is transformed into) a fresh fountain of the water of life by knocking with faith, Exod. 17, 1. Cor. 10, 4. How during the day, from out the cloud that guideth her, so many droplets of grace (mercy) of heavenly dew, will fall upon her as a baptism of grace. This will be unto her a day of joy & shouting, when the Holy Ghost shall stir in her heart & move the waters, so that the fount shall be poured forth from out her eyes in tears of pure joy. Oh, blessed baptism of water! Who would not daily, yea, hourly, be baptized thus! But there followeth also a night upon this day, wherein the fiery column, as God in the east, will preserve her, which is the baptism in fire of the Son, until that, at last, the old birth, bred in Egypt, and longing for the Egyptian pots of lust, shall completely die out together with Moses. Then will the true Jonah-Jesus lead the *new birth,* that was born in the desert, & is now grown to the age of manhood, then will he lead this birth to the taking of the new Canaan, yea, lead her thereinto. Oh, who would not long for this desert (wilderness)! which is so joyful, & standeth so gladsome & bloometh as the lilies! Yes, it bloometh and standeth rejoicing, for the splendor of Lebanon is given unto her (the wilderness). The ornament (excellency) of Carmel & Saron (Sharon), Isaiah, 35, 1. Even the most bitter myrrhs here contain the most hidden sweetness. Even the heaviest burthen is light, & the hardest yoke is mild (gentle). The deepest sadness hath hidden in itself, the inmost joy; darkness is as light, Psalm 139, 12. Here, dying is to become alive; poverty is the greatest wealth; hunger & thirst are as the most longed for food & most refreshing drink; to be nothing and to become nothing, is to inherit all things; to have nothing is to possess all things; to be weak, is the greatest strength; unrest is the securest peace; no trouble, no work tires, for the more one works, the stronger one becomes, & yet the feeblest weakness hath hidden in itself the greatest strength. From out such desert there shall arise (be built) the fairest city, namely, the New Jerusalem. Now, then, Esteemed Sister, are you willing to come into the wilderness, & are ye pleased to flee thereinto? Then it is neces-

sary to understand these things spiritually & not corporally, because all things gross be herein. Be their names what they will, there are no wildernesses in the primitive (first) spiritual understanding, but inhabited cities, full of temples & altars. If she be willing to follow the lamb, whithersoever it goeth, then let her not follow the women, because one is only contaminated with these. Wouldst thou convert thyself, then convert thyself unto me, saith the Lord, Jer. 4, 1. If she have the spirit of the Lord as her teacher & master, she must, indeed, be very desirous (studious) if she be not content with Him. But if she hear Him in a friend of the bridegroom, He will always direct her to the lamb, as John, & bid neither himself, nor any one else to follow. But he that followeth after the lamb, must not run before it, lest the wolf catch him. To follow Him is the surest way; to remain with Him is the best security; & on His pasture there is found the best food. And this she may do, if she, according to His own admonition, Matth. 6, 6. remain at home, bodily & spiritually, go into her chamber, lock the door, & pray to her Father in secret, & her Father, who seeth in secret, will reward her openly. Amen.

With cordial greetings, I am ever ready to serve you in Christ, & I shall be happy to hear that you are prospering. The Lord, our King, grant her His benison from Zion, to the end that she may see Jerusalem, her salvation, throughout her life.

J. Kelpius.

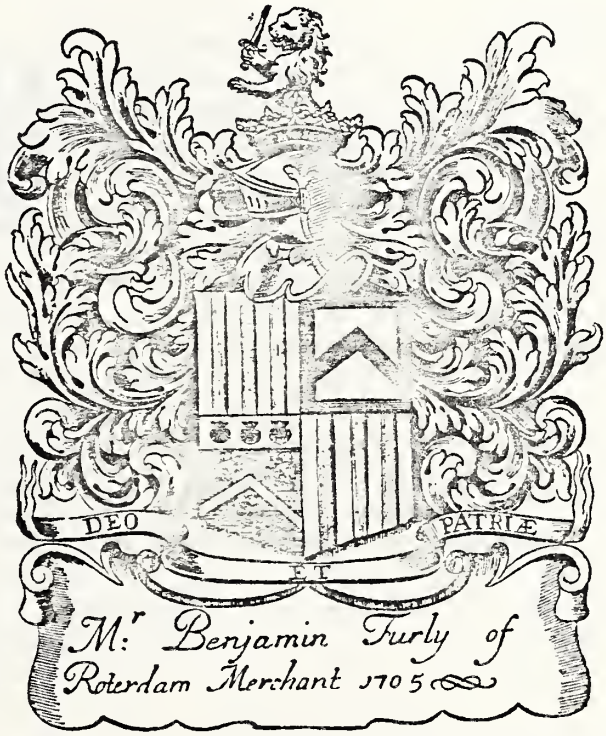
P.S. Many more things could I write, but, how is it possible to describe the inexpressible with pen & ink! The Lord, however, unite our hearts by His spirit, that we, in united harmony, may grow together in one faith & knowledge of the Son of God, & ever become a more perfect man, who is to be in the measure of the perfect age of Christ (see Eph. 4, 14, 15, 16). Thus we shall, though absent in body, in the selfsame spirit be present one to another & offer up one & the same petition, prayer, intercession & thanksgiving through the hand of the Mediator J. C. ——— H.

Buntchÿ sends his best regards. Both he & H. Mattheÿ rejoice exceedingly because of her conversion to (growth in) Christ. These men came to us about a year ago, & have, in this short time, increased powerfully in the renunciation of the cares of this world & the allurements thereof. May the Lord strengthen & confirm these dear souls furthermore. They live amongst us, less scattered, & with us, they long, that, indeed, our Arch-Shepherd would bring together the scattered children of God through the power (by virtue) of His suffering (passion). (John 11, 52). Jerusalem, indeed, is being built in this sorrowful time, whilst we hold the stones wrought with the one hand, & hold the weapon in the other, Nehem. 4, 17. And the stones, each one for itself are prepared outside of Jerusalem. Those that are perfected await the perfection of the rest, in whom the corner-stone himself, the first-born, our Immanuel, doth wait, Heb. 10, 13.

Whence the long-suffering of the great Architect, our God, yea, of our Father in Christ becomes apparent, who causeth our brethren, afore perfected toward salvation—to wait, that they might not be perfected without us, Heb. 11, 40. When, however, the last stone shall have been perfected, then will the edifice suddenly appear without stroke of hammer, without tumult & shouting, appear in its divine splendor, beauty & magnificence. Therefore, beloved soul, let us patiently (meekly) suffer chastening, to the end that we obtain His sanctification (whereof read Heb. 12.) without which no one shall see God. In my epistle I have answered her request to a sufficiency, but hath it been to her edification? Should be pleased to hear hereof. But, if she find therein ought that may cause her some doubt, scruple, or the like, or be it that aught may be too obscure or unintelligible, yea, if she would know aught more, I am, as a fellow-servant, ready to serve her according to the ability which God granteth. For it also pleaseth God to work even by means (& indeed, oftentimes by very weak ones, of which I am probably one of the most inconsiderable). Just as He hath done by your soul through one dear friend Chawiley (?) though he is joined unto a certain congregation, nevertheless he hath somewhat of the universal charity (love), whereof for the present (I will

speak no more)—thus he hath been instrumental, largely, to the first awakening of her soul. But now, may the faithful Arch-Shepherd & Bishop (Overseer) of our salvation give her His spirit Himself towards a union (a growth or growing to) & complete perfection. Amen.

I remain, Esteemed Sister,
Your faithful brother, J. K.



Book Plate of Benjamin Furley, the Rotterdam Merchant.

VII.

LETTER TO DR. JOHANNES FABRICIUS (ALTDORFINUS), GERMANY.

To Dr. Fabricius, Prof. Theol. at Helmstadt:

July 23rd, 1705.

YOUR *Magnificence*:—The joy your letter afforded me I am unable, at present, to describe. I did behold in it, as in a mirror, the sincerity and uprightness of my good old master, Dr. Fabricius. What dear Mr. Ingelstaetter, evrettore dei Falkein, reported, is true, so far as appertaineth to the principal point, namely, that I have not become a Quaker. Such an idea hath never come into my mind, albeit I love them from my inmost soul, even as I do all other sects that approach and call themselves Christ's, the Baptists even not excluded, and, with Peter, I have found out, in deed and truth, that God regardeth not the person, but in all sorts of work and religion. He that feareth Him, and doeth what is right, is agreeable to Him. I could report of magnalities (if space permitted) which this great God hath wrought even amongst the Indians, whereof there is some printed notice in the Memoirs of the Phil. Soc. in London, and how they are brought to grief now and then by blind-mouthed Christians. Yet one instance I will report, as abashed Sir W. Penn, when he was here last, Anno 1701 (if I remember rightly) when he wanted to preach to them of faith in the God of Heaven and Earth, at their Kintika (thus they call their festivity). After having listened to him with great patience; they answered: "You bid us believe in the Creator and Preserver of Heaven and Earth, though you do not believe in Him yourself, nor trust in Him. For you have now made your own the



PORTRAIT OF MAGISTER FABRICIUS.

TUTOR AND FRIEND OF KELPIUS.

FROM AN OLD COPPERPLATE AT HELMSTADT.

land we held in common amongst ourselves and our friends. You now take heed, night and day, how you may keep it, so that no one may take it from you. Indeed, you are anxious even beyond your span of life, and divide it among your children. This manor for this child, that manor for that child. But we have faith in God the Creator and Preserver of Heaven and Earth. He preserveth the sun, He hath preserved our fathers so many moons (for they count not by years). He preserveth us, and we believe and are sure that He will also preserve our children after us, and provide for them, and because we believe this, we bequeath them not a foot of land." Whenever we shall be made worthy to see the many and varied dwellings in our Father's house (for who would be so simple, to say these dwellings were all of one sort), it is my belief we shall then see that the same Architect cared little about our common formula and systematic architecture. And, I trow, many disciples of Moses and Christ, when in want or dying, might be glad if they shall be received in any of the huts, described above, by him, whom they perhaps accused of heresy in this life. I hope that God, who maketh happy both man and beast, and hath mercy on all his children, will, at last, make all men, as died in Adam, alive in the other. But life and death are further distinguished from change, so that those that have been made to live in Christ, must be delivered from the second death. I know that some cranks, spiriti Divines, trouble and crucify themselves concerning this Lexion theologiae (as they call it), but especially the Reprobratites, because these (Restitution of all things) cancel and crucify their dogmas so very frequently. Meseems, however, their little faith hath its origin in the misunderstanding of the word Eternity, which neither in Greek nor in Hebrew denoteth a time but an end, but rather the contrary as they have both singular and plural numbers, and Paul even speaketh of the birth of Eternities. But just as the luminaries of the firmament are the dimensions of our time, so it seemeth that the Eternities have, also, their dimensions, which, however, those (sensual Man's having not the spirit) cannot well see, wherefore allowance must be made, if they, perchance, judge hereof

as the blind do of colors. But if the Lord from out his infinite plentitude should give them the spiritual mind, they will, no doubt, judge otherwise. How wroth I formerly would wax toward those who would not accept the sayings of Schertzer or Calov as Oracles. And I trust in the infinite mercy of God (and your Magnificence also had great patience with me and to me, indeed, publicly, whereof I have since often been ashamed, but admired your Magnificence's humility and prudence), why should I then look with evil eye upon my blind neighbor, because God hath, perchance, showed me beforehand the abundance of His Mercy, by opening mine eyes before theirs? Not to speak of, that I see but little fragments of the fragmentary work and the men of the creation as trees! But, especially, because I hope to become one in God through Christ both with those who do not yet see as I do, and with those that see much better and farther than I.

Although I proffer this common love in the brotherly love, yet the brotherly love, the Philadelphiae, remains with me on a firm foundation; whence I was wronged, if I have been called a Quaker on account of the former (common love), or even furthermore, a Papist, as has been done by the Quakers in this country, as I was unwilling to enter the married state, however advantageous the connection, wherefore I was either a Jesuit or an Indian Deitist, although, by the grace of God, it is easy for me to be judged from a human standpoint. Nevertheless I have mercy on such untimely judges and condemners who are oblivious of the express prohibition of Christ and Paul, though professing to be his disciples; Therefore I can harmonize as little with the canon of the Anglical Church (Confession), as with the anathema of the Council of Trent, though having no part in the errors mentioned. To the honor of the Anglical Church, I must confess, that they practice the Doctrine of universal grace much better than the Lutherans. Their 39 Theses, or Articles (I had almost said 40 less one) are so mild and general, that they can be accepted by any one, who is not too narrow-minded and of too little faith. If anyone amongst them have but a private view, as, for instance, concerning the

universal restitution, the Millennium, the Metemptosis, etc., he is, on that account, not excommunicated forthwith, especially, if he make them but serviceable to the practice of piety, not for the instituting of Sects, although they deem the Quaker Sect the last, and that the Lord would now soon come to His Temple, forasmuch as the opinion concerning the Millennium is quite correct both amongst them and the Presbyterians, or Calvinists, both in Old and New England, as well as here, and even amongst the Quakers themselves a few years ago. It is consequently wrong to place all these into one category. The majority of them are just as worldly in their opinions, as any of the great divisions may be, and if all their members should be subjected to a particular examination on some points of Religion—the result would be, as amongst others —so many heads, so many opinions, as I have found out in mine own experience. (Here the letter ends abruptly).



VIGNETTE FROM TITLE PAGE OF THE "PARADISCHES WUNDERSPIEL," EPHRATA, 1761.

VIII.

LETTER TO HENRICH JOH. DEICHMAN, LONDON, ENGLAND.

MY health is still precarious, though considerably improved, God be praised. All of us are oftentimes exposed to severe temptations, yet our faithful Helper is ever near and often granteth us a splendid victory and bringeth it to pass, that we rule in the midst of our enemies. Much could be said on this subject: consider only, how Moses ruled over Pharaoh in Egypt, before gaining a complete victory, enabling him to sing his song of triumph at the Red Sea: consider, how David, who first was great in Babel, just as Moses in Egypt, ruled in the midst of Babel over Bel and Betraies, before he under David and Cyu (Cyrus?) assisted in the building of the temple: consider, how Christ ruled in the midst of death, before he rose. Think of Paul, a captive in Rome, David in the desert, etc. Thus also the new man ruleth in us, while yet he is surrounded by the old Adam, the sins, and death. At the sea of glass, he will sing the song of triumph of Moses and of the Lamb. Therefore we rejoice and are of good cheer, because we know, that the complete victory will finally be of God and the Lamb, and, therefore, ours. The new Adam within us, must, according to the prototype of the old one, sleep and be still, until his bride be fully built up and complete of his flesh and bone. O, how great will his joy and ours be, if . . . he now shall awake and recognize and name us as his own. Yea, when he shall have left his father and his mother, and shall cleave to us, because he is waiting therefor; why should we not wait a little for the consummation, because we shall be rewarded so richly therefor? How many have awakened love too soon, hindering thereby their growth

unto the fulness of their stature; how many have, with their strong spirit, striven too impetuously to attain something of the spiritual gifts of their inheritance, which they afterward squandered, and became poorer than they were at the beginning. Examples, such as these, we have in our days too, yea, even among our house-mates, who serve to teach us to endure in blessed waiting and resting in the will of God, until the destined end, meted out by His providence, arrive. O, how this watching and waiting is sweetened, in the mean time, for the humble, childlike souls that yearn for the holy will of their Father only, in so much that they would, indeed, wait forever, if their beloved Father would thus have it. And in this wise, they constantly become more humble and diminutive in their own estimation, in so much, that they finally deem themselves wholly unworthy of the revelation of their Friend and Bridegroom, whom they love so tenderly and for whom they yearn so eagerly; for the more they contemplate themselves, the more do they hate and despise their own self; but if they rise above themselves, they become entirely oblivious of their own self. And then their salvation is nearest, because they are farthest from their own self, &c.



IX.

LETTER TO HESTER PALMER, AT FLUSHING, LONG ISLAND.

A. 1706 d. 25, Mayi.[1]

My dearly beloved in our Immanuel Jesus the Messiah:

The Son of God our Saviour.

BEING presented lately with a letter of yours, directed to our beloved Friend M———— B————,[2] I found in the P. S. that the remembrance of mine was not yet slipt out of your Minde, insomuch that you desired to see a few lines from my hand, which Desire is an evident sign to me that the said remembrance is in Love and in the Truth.

Assure yourself that it is with no less Fervency on my Side, but I finde as yet a double wall between us, which indeed seems to stop the current of this firey love-dream of which no more at present, least we should embolden ourselves to break through before the time appointed by Him, who nourisheth the Woman in the Wilderness (Rev. 12, 14). And since our Discourse broke just as we was about this matter, Viz:—THE THREEFOLD WILDERNESS STATE, I'll venture upon your Patience a few lines Concerning this subject, adding the Third State in the Wilderness, also having Confidence in your good Acceptance since you have in a manner bidden me to write and I finding no better Subject than to begin where we left it.

Of the first we did discourse somewhat, viz:—Of the Barren

[1] *Verbatim, et literatem.*

[2] The identity of this friend has not been discovered.

Wilderness, and as we was beginning the second, viz:—Of the Fruitfull Wilderness, we was interrupted.

The first hath a respect upon the Old Birth, like as Ye second upon the *New*. These two run parallel until the First dieth, and then the Second is set at Liberty. The first is begotten in Egypt, and then arriveth to its manhood, and being led out of Egypt falls and Dieth in the Wilderness. The Second is also begotten in Egypt but is educated, and arriveth to its manhood in the Wilderness, and after the death of the First enters Caanan. The First seeth indeed the stretched out Arm of God in Egypt as well as in the Wilderness, but murmurs, provokes and tempts God and limiteth the Holy one in Israel, alwais turning back with its Heart lusting after Egypt. The Second seeth God and its life is preserved, its face alwais turned Caananwarts and its Heart with Joshua and Caleb (Joshua signifieth Aid, Salvation, Conservation; Caleb, full of heart, courageous, undaunted, faithfull) stands faithfull and seeth Ye salvation of God, being filled with the fervent and only desire of attaining the same. The first is in continual fear of Death, and what he feareth cometh upon him (Num. 14, 28; Prov. 10, 24). The Second is undaunted and liveth (Num. 14, 30, 31) and puts his feet upon the necks of his enemies (Jos. 10, 24; Psal. 94, 13). The Second deriveth its origen from the First, and dying to this riseth and liveth in God: The First when He dyeth, liveth in the Second (This is a great Mystery and wants an Explanation else it may be misconstrued, but I hope you are no Stranger to it). The Second liveth under Moses as well as the First as long as Moses liveth (Gal. 4, 1; Rom. 7), but is hidd inward; by chance he is called the inward Man in the Tabernacle, from which He never departeth (Exod. 33, 11). But when Moses Dyeth the New Man, being arrived now to his Manhood, appears from his inward state outwardly to the Terror of his enemies (see of this coming forth Cant. 3, 6; and 8, 5) of Whose Land he taketh Possession (Num. 27, 15; Deut. 3, 21–end). I will not draw the Parallism further, since a word to the Wise is enough. And since we have orally conferred of the First state, viz:—of Ye Barren

Wilderness, let us insist a little upon the Mystery of the Second. In which Fruitfull Wilderness we enjoy the leading Cloud by day, out of which so many drops of the heavenly Dew (Psal. 33, 3) as a Baptism of Grace upon us do fall. This is a Day of Joy and triumph, when the Holy Ghost moves and stirreth the waters in our Hearts so that this living spring diffuseth it self through the Eyes in a sweet and Joyfull Gush of Tears: O Thou blessed water-baptism, who would not desire to be Baptized with thee every day. But there followeth a night also upon this Day, wherein nevertheless the Pillar of Fire is our Guide, refining us as Gold in the Furnace, which is the Baptism of Fire of Ye Son, and is indeed terrible to the old Birth, but bright and light to the New; for she learneth by this to be resigned and say 'Not my will, O Father! but Thine be done.' Thus our Tears are our Meat, yea, our Manna, not only by Day but also in the darkest Night (Psal. 42, 3; 80, 5). The most bitter Myrrh (which conditeth the old man in his Grave) hath the most sweetest Sweet hid in herself. For the Tree of the Cross and the Yoak of the Beloved doth but sweeten the bitter water of Affliction and sufferings in Mara (Exod. 15; Matt. 11). The darkest sorrow contains in herself the most inward Joy and Gladness (2 Cor. 6, 10). Darkness is like the Light (Psal. 139, 12). To dye is in this pleasant Wilderness to grow lively. Poverty maketh rich. Hunger is the most desirable Meat, and Thirst the most refreshing Nectar (Math. 5, 6). To be nothing is to be Deified (2 Pet. 1, 4). To have nothing is to enjoy all (2 Cor. 12, 10). To become weak is the greatest strength.

Disquietness is the surest Peace (2 Cor. 7, 10). No work no Pain doth tire, for the more we work the stronger we grow (Gen. 32, 24), and yet we do experimentally find that the greatest weakness hath the greatest strength hid in herself (Cant. 2, 5). Oh everblessed Wilderness thou rejoyceth and blossometh as a Rose! yea, thou blossometh abundantly and rejoyceth even with Joy and Singing. The glory of Libanon is given unto thee, the Excellency of Carmel and Sharon! In thee we see the Glory of our Lord,

and the Excellency of our God! In thee our weak Hands are Strengthened and our feeble Knees confirmed (Esa. 35, 1). Who would not desire to be a Denizon in Thee? Who would not delight to trace thy Solitary and lonesom walks? O! ye Inhabitants of this happy desolation, bless and kiss that gentle hand of that Divine Sophia who at the first did so wittily allure you, when she intended to bring you into this Wilderness, for to speak to your Heart, in order to search and trie the same! Do not forsake her, untill she hath given you from hence your Possessions, and the hindermost Valley for the opening of your understanding (Hos. 2, 14, 15, according to the LXX Achor signifying hindermost, farthest, comp. Exod. 3, 1, Syrach 4, 17–28).

This Valley of Achor, or hindermost Cavity, leads me to the consideration of a Wilderness yet of a higher (further) degree than the Second, which it exceeds by so much as the second does the First. We may call it the WILDERNESS OF THE ELECT OF GOD, as being traced but by few, and none but peculiarly chosen Vessels of Honour and Glory.

I shall bring but four Instances for this, Two out of Ye Old and Two out of the New Test. The first is Moses, that great Prophet and mediator between God and the Israel, according to the Flesh, who, as the Acts 2, 7, give us to understand, had a Revelation that He should deliver Israel out of Egypt, whilst He was yet in the court of Pharao; which, as he would put in Execution, miscarried of the Enterprise through the fault of the People, whereupon he fled into the Wilderness, where he remained 40 years. What He did there is nowhere described, only that towards the end of the 40 years He led his Flock to the Backside (or rather to the hindermost or furthest) Desert. And there the Angel of the L(ord) appeared unto him out of a burning Bush, in order to send him in embassage to King Pharao. But so forward as Moses was at the first to go, when he had got only an Intimation or Manifestation or Revelation or Inspiration or Motion (or what we may call it) of what He now was to do, without any express Commission and Credentials (Viz. Miricales and

Signs). So backward was he now to go, when he got express orders and extraordinary Credentials, so that we may easily find what he had done during the 40 years in the Wilderness having the two extremes, viz., his Presumption and fervent Zeal at first in which he killed the Egyptian, and his great Humility and meekness at last when God would send him, which last is Symbolically typified by his leading his Sheep by Ye Backside or deepest of the Wilderness. Whereas formerly when his firy Quality was not yet thoroughly tinctured and Metamorphosed into the Lamlike nature, He led his flock, but, as it were, on the Brim and foreside of the Wilderness, of which I had more to say, but lest the Letter should exceed its bounds, I must hasten to the next Instance, which is Fleyah and runs into many things paralell to the first Witness. Read the history 1 Kings 6, 29. He was a very zealous and had slain the Priests of Baal, as Moses had the Egyptian. They did seek his life, as the Egyptians did Moses his. He made his escape and fled into the Wilderness as Moses did. Moses his 40 years was turned to him in 40 days, He came at last into the Hindermost Wilderness to the Mount of God Horeb, the very same where Moses saw the Vision, And here God appeared unto him, and gave him a gentle Reprimende as touching his Zeal and Presumtions. Shewing him withal, that the great and strong winde and the Earthquake and the Fire (wherein Elijah's his Ministry had consisted) did indeed go before the L(ord), but that the Lord did not dwell therein, but in the still ae thereall creating voice and that there were yet 7000 left besides him that had not bowed unto nor kissed Baal; though they were hid and unknown to him, and had not ministered publiquily with storming and quaking and burning Jealousy as he had done. Thereupon being Condemned to substitute another in his Room (viz: to edifie, whereas hitherto he had but destroyed), he was soon after taken up into Paradise, by the same element wherein he had ministered. This Eleijah leads to Ye first Wilderness in the New Testament, the Claus of the old John, the Precursor of the Messiah, who after his education was also in the Wilderness, till the day of his Shewing unto Israel in the Spirit and Power of

Eleijah, baptizing with water to Repentance, as the first Eleijah had baptized with Fier for Destruction. What he did in the Wilderness is not described, but by that what hath been said we may safely conclude that he was gratified there for his so great a Ministry. That God appeared also unto him there appeareth out of what he saith himself (Joh. 1, 33). He that sent me to Baptize the same said unto me. I will not draw the Parallelism any further, lest I should prove tedious at least. That like as the accorded of him who succeeded Eleijah, raised the dead man (2 Reg. 13, 21), so He who succeeded John, by his death became the Head, the Spring, the Principle and cause of Life and Resurrection unto all that believed in Him, both for Soul and Body. This is the last and greatest Witness I am to produce JESUS the Messiah of God, our God and Saviour, the centre of all, who also in likeness of the first Lawgiver Moses was 40 days (the 40 years of Moses being thus abridged) in the Wilderness and tempted there with all manner of Temptations (though without sin, wherein He hath the only Prerogative above all, Heb. 4, 15; 2, 28). The Scripture indeed maketh mention of his firey trials (1 Pet. 4, 12), But nowhere saith what they was or are. They cannot be described; it is only experience which can teach them best. The three temptations that happened at the End of the 40 days (Matt. 4) centre in this: *If He was the Son of God or Not!* which indeed hath more to say than is commonly supposed. The very Ground of the Christian Religion circling therein and is founded thereupon, as appears from Matt. 16, 16; Joh. 11, 27; 1 Joh. 4, 15; 5, 5; and is the greatest Stumbling block to the Jews (Joh. 19, 7) and to the Turks, the Latter believing that Jesus the Son of Mary (as they style him) is the word of God incarnate, and that he is anointed to the Holy Ghost above all the Prophets and above Mahomed, and that he is to be the Judge of the Quick and Dead and of Mahomed himself; but that He is the Son of God they cannot believe, for, say they, God is a Spirit and cannot beget a man for his Son, &c. And no wonder, this being a Mystery surpassing all humane and Angeelicall understanding; nor is it to be found out by the same, it depending

solely from the Revelation of the Father, like as that of the Father depends from the Reception of the Son and M. K., is yet to answer the? Why Jesus being God of very God, became to be Man and died? The Prophets and Patriarchs have been tempted indeed with great Temptations, but none like this, none of the Nature of this, they being not capable of the same, as being the Sons of God through Faith in Him, who being God, was to be made Man (Exod. 3, 14, where it should have been interpreted: I Shall be, what I shall be, viz:—Man) as we through Faith in Him who was God and is made Man. But Jesus having past this firy ordeal, He received the Almightiness from his Father, whereof he made no bragging Ostentation, as Robbers make of their Pray, but humbled himself unto the death even the death of the Cross, styling himself at this side of the Grave only the son of Man (or mankind, the Greek word denoting both the Sexes) though He was the son of God: Wherefore God also by the Resurrection from the Dead powerfully declared him to be his Son (Rom. 1, 4; Psal. 2. Act.) exalting him above all, Lord over all worlds, visible and invisible, this and that which is to come (Eph. 1, 2; Phil. 2, 6–11).

To these four I will add two more out of the Scripture, passing by the rest (Heb. 11, 38). This first is *David,* that man after God's own Heart, who was 10 years in the Wilderness and exercised in continual Sufferings and Sorrows (as his Psalms bear witness) before He was installed in the Kingdom, to which He was chosen and annointed so many years before. The second is that great Apostle of the Gentiles *Paul,* who abided seven years in the Deserts of Arabia (Gal. 1, 17, and as the antient Church Records bear witness), before he went out for the Conversion of the Gentiles. I could produce a whole Cloud of such chosen Vessels out of the antient Records of the first Christians, who beeing prepared in the Wild's some for 10, some for 20, some for 40 years, after their coming forth converted whole Cities, wrought signs and Miracles, was to their Disciples as living Oracles, as the mouth of God through whom he fed and guided them, but having exceeded the limits of a letter allready, I must stop the Vein which so liberally

would diffuse it self; I hope what hath been said manifested to the full, that God hath prepared alwais his most eminent Instruments in the Wilderness.

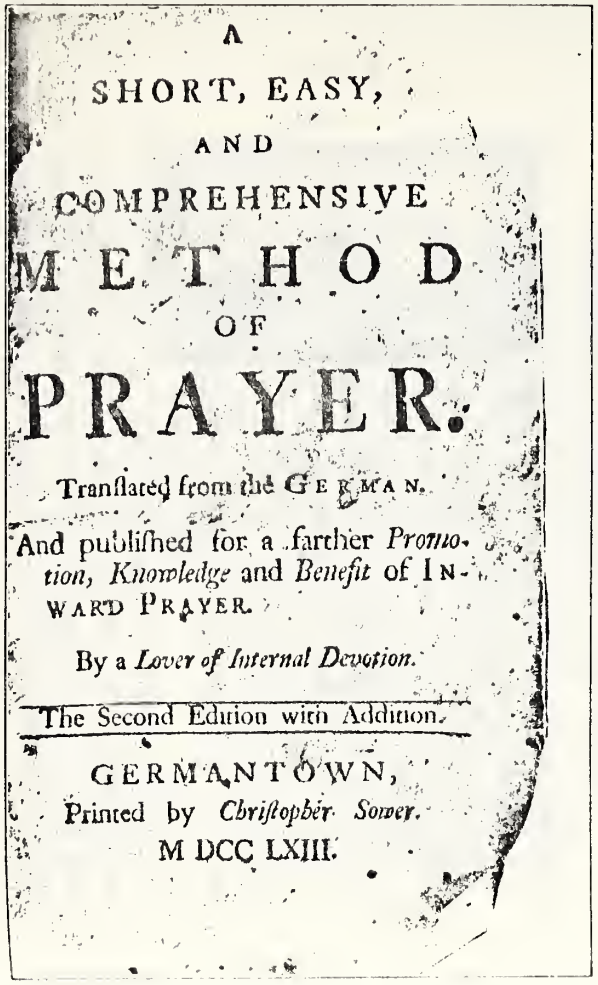
When we consider now with a serious introversion of our minds those Three states of the Wild's, we shall find That there is no entring into the first Wild's without a going out of Spiritual Egypt; and so consequently no entring into the second without passing the first; And so on, no entring into the Third without passing the second state.

We shall find in the next place, that like as there is a long Struggling and Groaning under the Egyptian Burdens before the delivery from the same ensueth, So there is a long contest between the first and second Birth in their Wilderness-Station before the Second is set at perfect Liberty and made ready to enter and possess Caanan: But how long the Parallelism of the second and third state may run together, and where the Borders of each meet together or if there be any Borders at all, I'll leave to higher graduated Souls than mine is to enquire; by it to speak my mind: me thinks the Childhood and Manhood may both well consist with the second state, and one may arrive to the manhood in Christ without ever entering the Third Station, this being only for some chosen Vessels for a peculiar administration which requires also peculiar and extraordinary Qualifications and Endowments, which they are to acquire and make trial of in this Third Station before they appear and show themselves to the Israel of God. So that every one that is to enter the Third must of necessity be acquainted with the second and first. But not every one that hath entered the Second and after he is even with the first must also enter the Third Station.

By the consideration of the Third State we shall find what a wighty thing it is to appear and to show oneself to the Israel of God, as immediately called chosen and sent by the Lord. Such a being made, as Paul saith (1 Cor. 4, 9) a Spectacle to the World and to Angels and to Men. And what good reason Moses had to resist so hard when he was sent, whom God having heard the crey and Prayers of his People, did force as it were and thrust or cast

forth (see Matt. 11, 38) where it should have been thurst or —— forth instead of sent forth). And what a great presumption it is, on the other Hand, to go forth without being thus duly prepared beforehand. For though such may have inspirations, Revelations, Motions and the like Extraordinary Favours; yea, may have arrived at the very Manhood in Christ (which truly is a high attainment), yet they will effect and build nothing, but only (if they do any thing at all) destroy, as we see in the instances of Moses and Elias, before they had been in that Wild's. Yea, there is no small Danger of loosing themselves and to bruise and grind that good seed, which was not designed for Meat but for increase, not for to be sent forth but to be kept in an honest and Good Heart. (Luc. —). Such are indeed with Child, they are in pain, but (as the common Translation saith, Esa. 26, 28, and as the common experience wittnesseth to be so) they bring forth as it were but Winde, they make no deliverance in the earth, neither do the Inhabitants of the World fall; Whereas if they was duly prepared and had stood the firey ordeal it would fare with them, not as with the common, but as the Translation the first Christians made use of hath it: Through thy Tears Lord we have conceived and have been in Pain of Birth, and have brought forth the Spirit of Salvation, which Salvation we have wrought on Earth; we shall not fall, but all that dwell on Earth shall fall.

I had many Considerations more to add, as also what the Wilderness it self is in each of these States, having spoken only of some of the Inhabitants thereof and of some of their Qualities and Circumstances, and this rather under a veil and, as it were, but glancing at the Marrow and Substance. Nor have I counted the number of the Wilderness-Time, but touched only the root thereof, which is 40 Sun-Days for the New Birth and 42 Moons or Nights for the Old (which last I have not so much as mentioned). Neither have I measured from the Red-Sea of the Old Birth to the Jordan of the New, and a hundred such things more. But my beloved and esteemed Friend! this was to write a Volume and not a Letter, And I begin allmost to fear that I have ventured too much



A
SHORT, EASY,
AND
COMPREHENSIVE
METHOD
OF
PRAYER.

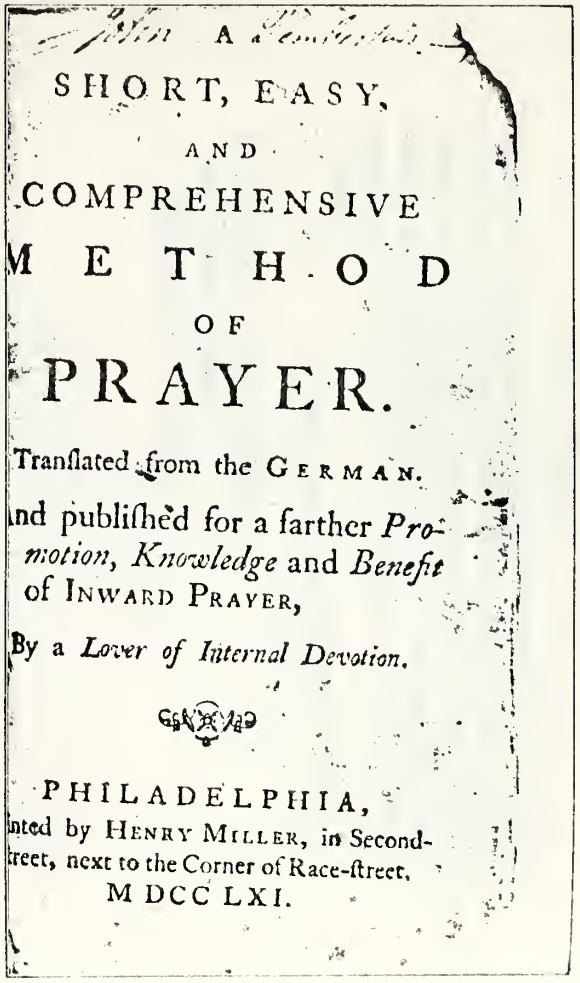
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By a *Lover of Internal Devotion.*

The Second Edition with Addition.

GERMANTOWN,
Printed by *Chriſtopher Sower.*
M DCC LXIII.



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TITLE PAGES OF KELPIUS'S METHOD OF PRAYER

upon your Patience this first time, not considering also the wall between us. Oh! that we may behold our Beloved alwais, standing behind our Wall, looking forth att the Window, shewing himself thorow the Lattesse, saying Rise up my Love, my fair one and come away (Cant. 29, 10). To whose Love-embraces leaving you, I remain,

Your sincere, though unworthy Friend,
J. K.

ROCKSBORROW, 1706, d. 25, Maji.
For Hesther Pallmer,
in Long-Island in Flushing.

X.

KELPIUS'S "METHOD OF PRAYER."



HOW concerned Magister Kelpius was for the spiritual welfare of the German settlers in Penn's Colony on the Delaware, where every effort was made by the Quakers to incorporate the Germans in their fold, is shown by the compilation by Kelpius of a little prayer book of 32 pages, six inches by 3½ inches. The title of this brochure was „Eine Kurtze und Begreifflige anleitung zum ſtillen Gebet."

No copy of the original edition, so far as known, has come down to us. It is said to have been printed by Reynier Jansen, about the year 1700, and was the first German devotional book to be printed in the west-

Kurtzer Begriff oder leichtes Mittel zu beten,

oder mit GOtt zu reden.

DEmnach das innere Gebät ein so wichtiger Punct ist, daß man dasselbe dis einzige Mittel nennen kan, zu der Vollkommenheit in diesem Leben zugelangen, und die lautere unintereſſirte Liebe in unsern Hertzen anzurichten; und da alle Christen (welche solche in der That seyn wollen) zu diesem Stand der lautern Liebe und Vollkommenheit beruffen sind, und denenselben kraft dieses Rufs die nöthige Gnade dargereichet wird, um solchen Stand zu erreichen: so schickt sich dieses innere Gebet für allerley Personen, ja so gar auch für die allersimpelste und allerdumste Leute, als welche solcherley Art des Gebets fähig sind, und es verrichten können.

Es bringt uns dasselbe am allerbaldigsten zu der Vereinigung und zu der Einförmigkeit des

FIRST PAGE OF FRANKLIN AND ARMBUSTER'S EDITION OF 1756. THE ONLY COPY IN THE COLLECTION OF JULIUS F. SACHSE.

ern world, nor is it known whether this was printed with German or Latin type.[1]

A second German edition was printed by Franklin and Armbruster in 1756, of which the only known copy is in the collection of the writer. There evidently was no general title page; the printers and date are known from the advertisements in the local paper.

A facsimile of the first page with its half title „Kurzer Begriff oder leichtes Mittel zu Beten oder mit Gott zu reden," is shown upon the opposite page, following is Dr. Christopher Witt's translation of the text:

> *"For as much as internal Prayer is so Weighty a Point, that one may call it the only means to attain to Perfection in this Life, and to kindle the Pure and disinterested Love in our Heart's; and as all Christians (who will indeed be such) are Called to this State of pure Love and perfection, and will, by the power of this call have the necessary Grace offered to them to attain such a State. So this inward prayer suits all persons, even the most Simple and ignorant, who are also capable of performing this Order or Manner of prayer.*
>
> *This brings us soonest to the Union with and Conformity to the Will of God!"*

Dr. Christopher Witt[2] who translated this pamphlet into English was an English physician and mystic, who joined the mystical community on the Wissahickon in the

[1] *Cf.* "German Pietists in Provincial Pennsylvania," Phila., Kelpius, 1895, p. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*

year 1704, and died in 1765 at the advanced age of ninety years, being the last survivor of the Kelpius community on the Wissahickon.

Dr. Witt's English translation was first printed by Henry Miller, the German printer of Philadelphia, in the year 1761, whose establishment was on Second Street next to the corner of Race Street. Dr. Witt gave a copy of this edition to Christian Lehman of Germantown, who had been one of his students, who made the following notes upon the back of the title and last page of his copy, viz.:[3]

Reverse of Title:

Christian Lehman, Favore, Christophori, De Witt, Natus, 10th November 1675 in Wiltshire in England. Given xbr: 5th A° Dom. 1763, Denatus at Germantown, January 30th, A° Dom 1765 Buried February 1st 1765, Etatis Sue 89 years 2 months 20 days Natus 10th Novembr A. D. 1675.

On last page:

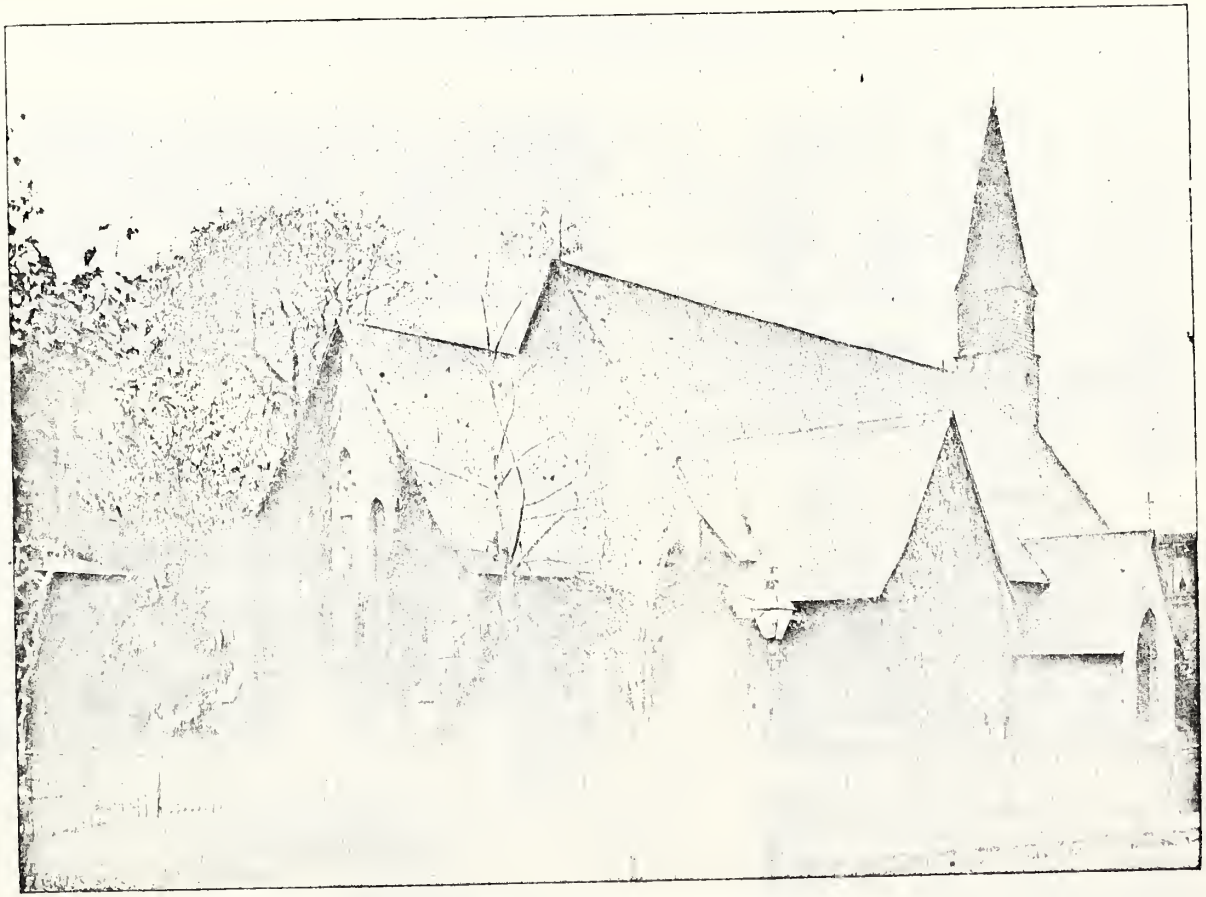
The foregoing was originally composed in the German Tongue by John Kelpius a German and was Translated into English by Christopher Witt who died January 30th 1765, aged 89 yrs 2 mo. 20 days.

Dr. Witt was buried in the Warner burying ground on the hill top back of the Warner house, at the corner of the Main and High Street, locally known as "Spook hill."[4] A part of this ground is now covered by the chancel of St. Michael's P. E. Church, under the floor of which rest his remains.

Two years later, 1763, a second edition of the English version of Kelpius's pamphlet was published at German-

[3] For full account of Dr. Witt, *cf. ibid.*, pp. 402–418.

[4] *Cf.* pp. 419–430.



ST. MICHAEL'S P. E. CHURCH.

BUILT UPON THE OLD WARMER GROUND IN GERMANTOWN, PHILADELPHIA.

THE CHANCEL COVERS THE GRAVES OF SEVERAL OF THE EARLY PIETISTS ON THE WISSAHICKON

Let us ascend the Mountain with Jesus Christ, let us pray as he has prayed; let us contemplate, let us love; so shall we perform God's prayer.

O divine Jesus! I join with thee in the Prayer which thou hast in Solitude by Night prayed, in this prayer of God; grant that we may perform no other Prayer.

O God! send this internal Spirit over the whole Earth; so will it be anew created, Let this Spirit rest on the Waters of thy usual and wonted Grace, which thou offereſt to all Men; so will it diſtribute an overflowing Fruitfulneſs.

O give us new Hearts.

Amen, O Jesus!

The foregoing was originally Composed in the German Tongue by John Kelpius a German and was Translated into English by Christopher Witt who died January 30th 1765 Aged 89 yr. 2 Mo. 20 Days.

THE

Christiani Lehman Favore

Christophori De Witt Natus 10th November 1675 in Wiltshire in England, Given Xbr: 5th Ao Dom, 1763

Donatus at Germantown January 30th Ao Dom 1765 Buried February 1st 1765

Etatis Suæ 89 yrs 2 Mo 20 Days. Natus 10th Novembr Ao D 1675.

FACSIMILE OF INSCRIPTION ON REVERSE OF TITLE, AND UPON LAST PAGE OF CHRISTIAN LEHMAN'S KELPIUS PRAYER BOOK.

town by Christopher Sower, as the title states, "The Second edition with addition." No copy with any additional matter has thus far been found. The copy printed by Sower in the Historical Society is merely a reprint of the Miller edition of 1761.

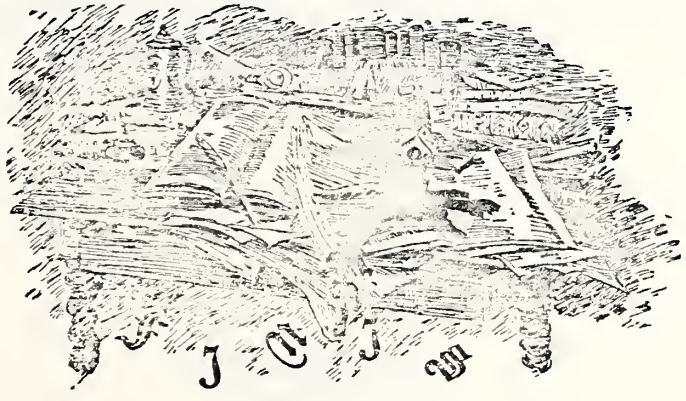
Facsimiles of title pages of both English editions are shown upon the opposite page. The originals are in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Magister Johannes Kelpius was small of stature, slight in frame, and suffered from an affection or paralysis of the left eyelid; he was of a frail constitution, which soon broke down under frugal fare and abstemious habits and the extremes of our variable climate.

Kelpius died in the year 1708, at the early age of thirty-five. He was buried with the rites of the Mystical community at sunset by his brethren. His resting place is not known.

JULIUS F. SACHSE.

September 20, 1916.



Conditions of Pennsylvania During the Year 1755

A TRANSLATION OF A FRENCH PAMPHLET

FOUND IN THE

DUCAL LIBRARY AT GOTHA, GERMANY

READ BEFORE THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY

JULIUS F. SACHSE

AT THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOCIETY
AT LANCASTER, PENNA., NOVEMBER 13, 1914

LANCASTER, PA.
1917

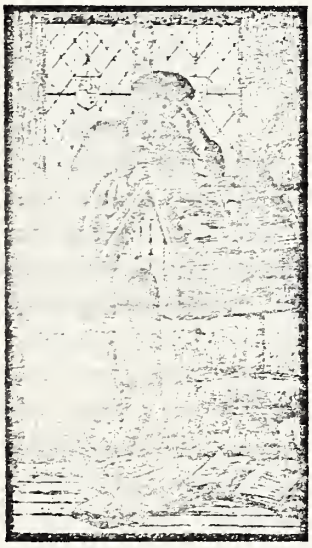
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PRESS OF
THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY
LANCASTER, PA.



E Beidbeek

The Braddock Expedition.



DURING the summer of 1913, while delving among the literary treasures housed in the ducal library, in the ancient palace Friedenstein, on the Schlossberg, which overlooks Gotha, the capital city of the duchy of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, there was found a small French duodecimo volume of 128 pages, which professed to give an account of the conditions in Pennsylvania, from about the time of Braddock's Expedition in 1755 against the French at Fort Duquesne at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers in western Pennsylvania (now Pittsburgh) down to the time when Oswego was captured and destroyed during the same year by the French under the Marquis de Montcalm, commander-in-chief of the French forces in Canada.

Although these events covered but a few months, they

brought about a most critical and portentous period for both the political and proprietary interests in the Penns' province on the Delaware.

Prior to these military movements little was known about Pennsylvania in France. The victories of the French and the defeat of Braddock excited a certain interest in France about the Quaker colony south of Canada, and along whose western borders they had established a chain of forts, which became the chief cause of the war between French and English in America.

The writer of the above account states in his preface that a couple of years ago (*i. e.,* prior to Braddock's defeat) Pennsylvania was known only to about three hundred Frenchmen.

The reports of the French and Indian victories, however, aroused much inquiry about the Quaker colony, in both official and civil circles. To meet this demand the above duodecimo was published. The name of the author is not given upon the title page.

By the authorities at the ducal library it was supposed that this account was written by one of the French or German officers in the French army operating in Pennsylvania at the time, a statement which was accepted by the present writer. By careful investigation, however, after returning to America, it was found that this pamphlet was merely a paraphrase of an English pamphlet by the Abbe De la Ville who was the first commissioner to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The French work was published in the year 1756 and was supplemented with a unique map of eastern Pennsylvania, showing parts of New York, New Jersey and Maryland. At the instance of Dr. R. Ewalt, chief librarian of the ducal library, permission was given by His Royal High-

ness, Ernst, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, to have a copy made of the map, as well as a translation of the text.

The writer of the French account intimates that the work is a translation from an English letter, sent from Philadelphia to England, and published there. This naturally started an investigation as to who this Philadelphia writer was, if such statement was correct. A careful search among the literature published during the year showed that there were two pamphlets published in London on the conditions in Pennsylvania, both anonymously. The first of these pamphlets bore the title: "A Brief Statement of the Province of Pennsylvania, etc." The second, and evidently the one used by De la Ville as a basis for his "Tableau," was "A Brief View of the Conduct of Pennsylvania for the year 1755, etc."[1] Both of these two pamphlets were written by no less an authority than Rev. Wm. Smith, the first provost of the College of Philadelphia.

This paper is of special interest to us as it shows the means and argument taken by Franklin in this very city of Lancaster to intimidate the German settlers, independent of their religious convictions, and force them by threats to furnish horses, cattle and teams for the use of the army. Further, as a matter of fact, most all of the teams and teamsters for the Braddock expedition were furnished by the German settlers in the eastern counties of our state.

The title of the French pamphlet reads:

[1] Copies of both pamphlets are to be found in the Philadelphia Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Vide* also "Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," by Horace W. Smith, Vol. 1, pp. 122–124.

ÉTAT PRÉSENT

DE

LA PENSILVANIE,

OÙ L'ON TROUVE LE DÉTAIL de ce qui s'y eſt paſſé depuis la défaite du Général Braddock juſqu'à la priſe d'Oſwego, avec une Carte particuliére de cette Colonie.



M. DCC. LVI.

TITLE PAGE OF THE FRENCH PAMPHLET IN THE DUCAL LIBRARY, GOTHA, GERMANY

Present State of Pennsylvania

WHEREIN THERE IS TO BE FOUND IN DETAIL THE HAPPENINGS THERE FROM THE DEFEAT OF GENERAL BRADDOCK TO THE CAPTURE OF OSWEGO, WITH A PARTICULAR MAP OF THIS COLONY

MDCCLVI

THE text is made up of a preface of four pages, and a short account of Pennsylvania covering thirteen pages. Most of this matter is evidently taken from "*Dumont's Historie et Commerce des Colonies Anglaises.*" Then follows the "tableau" of eighty-seven pages and closes with nineteen pages of the statute approved November 25, 1755: "*An Act for the better ordering and regulating such as are willing and desirous to be united for Military Purposes within this Province.*"

This statute, which does not appear in the "Votes of the Assembly," was presented by Benjamin Franklin, November 18, 1755, viz.:

"By the leave of the House, Benjamin Franklin, a member of this House, brought in a Bill, entitled, *An Act for the better ordering and regulating the Military Force of this Province* which was read the first time, and ordered to lie on the table for the perusal of the Members."

Upon the afternoon of the next day, November 19, the the bill was again read and considered, and after consider-

able time spent therein, the same was committed to John Hughes, Benjamin Franklin, Griffith Owen and others for alteration and amendment.

"On the next morning, being amended by the committee and an alteration made in the title, was ordered to be transcribed for a third reading."

The bill was finally approved by Governor Morris and became a law, November 25, 1755.

Preface

DURING the past year there has been much discussion in France about Pennsylvania. Two years ago the name of that country was known to hardly three hundred Frenchmen. This colony is one of the most flourishing of the English possessions in North America, and has suffered more than any of the other colonies, in consequence of the defeat of General Braddock. It is only from these misfortunes that this colony has become known to us. The interest which our public now takes in all that relates to the war against England has encouraged us to impart some extracts from an English pamphlet published in London some months ago, wherein there is to be found an account of all that happened in that colony during the past year, and showing the extreme obections of its inhabitants to warfare.

Had the people of the other English colonies as peaceable and less ambitious feelings, peace between the two crowns would still exist.

The singular constitution of this colony, as shown distinctly in this sketch, makes it more interesting, as it ap-


30
C
41
30
40

CARTE DE LA PENSILVANIE.

Echelle de 25 Lieues communes de France faisons 69 Milles Anglois.



FACSIMILE OF MAP OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA IN FRENCH PAMPHLET.

pears more as a republic allied with England than a province subject to the crown.

In order to better inform the French public regarding Pennsylvania, we shall give a short geographical description of it, as a preface to the abstract which is here presented and in order to leave nothing untold as to its present state, we add an account of what happened in this colony up to the end of August last [1755].

A Short Description of Pennsylvania

PENNSYLVANIA, situated between the thirty-ninth and forty-second parallel of north latitude, is one of the most important English possessions upon the American continent. Its boundaries on the east are the Atlantic Ocean, Delaware Bay and New Jersey; on the north by New York and Canada, which also bounds it on the west; on the south by Virginia and Maryland.

The seashore is of but little length. The best and most modern maps extend it about three miles south of Rehoboth Bay. Some writers start the seashore at Cape Henlopen, near Delaware Bay, thence along the southern coast of this bay, where there are to be found the counties or districts of Sussex, Kent and New Castle.

Pennsylvania is very narrow in that part where Maryland forms its boundary on the south and west. Afterwards it widens suddenly, where are to be found the counties of Chester, Philadelphia and Buckingham, the most populous of the colony. It ends in the north and in the west with the counties of York, Lancaster, Berks and Northampton, as the colony continues widening in these latter districts.

I do not speak here of the chimerical boundaries given to Pennsylvania by the English, extending it beyond the Ohio and as far north as Lake Erie.

The most remote settlements in the interior of the Province, prior to the outbreak of hostilities, were Gnadenhutten in the north, a hamlet about thirty miles distant from Philadelphia. In the west, the settlements on the Susquehanna, there were up the river near the forks where it receives another, which has been very improperly named the "West Branch."

Finally there are some settlements on the Juniata River above Shippensburg. Accordingly, the true extent of the colony, at its greatest length, is sixty miles, and forty miles as its greatest breadth.

Philadelphia is the only important town of this colony; it is also the capital. It has about 12,000 inhabitants.

There are no fortifications for defence of any sort. Its situation between the Delaware and Schuylkill rivers, which are both navigable for trading vessels, is favorable to commerce.

Upon the other hand, these rivers make conditions very unhealthy. Inflammation of the lungs, pleurisy and intermittent fevers and other diseases are greatly prevalent there.

The other towns in the colony are very small and would scarcely merit the name of boroughs.

The principal towns are: Lewis, the chief town of the county of Sussex; Dover of Kent; New Castle and Chester, of the counties of the same name; Darby and Germantown near Philadelphia; Bristol, the chief town of the county of Bucks or Buckingham; Newtown is in the same county; Lancaster and York are chief towns of the counties of the same name.

Before the war the population of Pennsylvania increased daily. In the year 1750 alone there arrived and settled there no less than 4,317 Germans, and more than a thousand English and Irish.

Therefore by a census taken of the inhabitants of the colony early in the year 1755 the number of white settlers was stated to be about 250,000. This number did not include about 30,000 negroes. We do not, however, affirm that these estimations are really correct.

So large a population seems astonishing when we consider the fact that it was only in 1681 that William Penn received a charter of concessions for this Province, and that when he took possession of it there were only a small number of inhabitants (mostly Dutchmen and Swedes) settled along the shores of Delaware Bay.

Although this colony is upon the same latitude as Portugal, there is a great difference in the climate. The winters especially are long and cold.

In Pennsylvania the soil is not so good. A great part of it is very sandy and stony. The best and most fertile soil is in the interior of the colony, near the rivers. The country abounds in provisions of all kinds, and are the source of the Pennsylvanian's wealth, and the chief source of their commerce.

But little tobacco is grown in this colony; a few vine-trellises are to be found in the gardens, but the grapes are not pressed. Lumber, furs and hides are also exported in small quantities.

So as to form a conception of the commerce of Pennsylvania we give a summary of the number of vessels which arrived and cleared at the harbor of Philadelphia during the last ten months of the year 1749:

Arrived		*Cleared*
62	trading vessels	64 trading vessels
72	brigantines	68 brigantines
25	two-masters	26 two-masters
25	corvettes	21 corvettes
119	sloops	112 sloops
303		291

A fifth of these vessels, and of course the largest, came from England and Ireland, and returned thence.

The Messrs. Penn are the proprietors of this colony, and from which they derive much profit, as they grant no land without direct taxes or rent. They appoint the Governor of the Province, who is confirmed by the King.

As to the political constitution of the colony, the Governor has the executive power, but this is greatly limited by the authority of the Assembly. Of these there are two—one for Pennsylvania proper, so-called, and a special one for the three lower counties on the Delaware called the territories or Lower Pennsylvania.

These assemblys are composed of representatives of the various counties. They are elected for only one year, by the people, who renew these elections in the beginning of October. It is in these chambers that all bills are passed, but they only acquire legality after they are approved by the Governor. The same spirit prevails in both Pennsylvanias, and their laws are nearly the same.[2]

The public revenue of the colonies is not very extensive, as the Assembly has taken care to avoid burdening the people with taxes. The revenue does not amount to over £8,000 (180,000 livers tournois) up to the present day, no troops having been maintained in time of peace, in

[2] Copies of both pamphlets are to be found in the Philadelphia Library and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. *Vide* also "Life of Rev. William Smith, D.D.," by Horace W. Smith, Vol. 1, pp. 122–124.

Pennsylvania. The above amount has been sufficient for the salary of the Governor and officials, together with all expenses of the government, including the present annually given to the Indians.[3]

From the foregoing one will be able to form a proper idea of the present state of the colony.[4]

Tableau

Of the Conduct of Pennsylvania, during the year 1755, So far as it affected the General Service of the British Colonies, particularly the Expedition under the late General Braddock.

IN my last letter, sir [says the writer to him to whom he addressed his pamphlet], I remarked that I could not remain silent nor look calmly at the dangers to which the colonly I live in has been exposed. I observed too that our enemies, sure of meeting with no resistance, in the province, on account of the religious principles of the Quakers or Tremblers who govern us, had conceived the plan for conquering us.

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[3] (Footnote in original pamphlet.) M. Dumont in his book bearing the title of "Historie et Commerce des Colonies Anglaises," p. 173, mentions Frankfort as the second town of Pennsylvania. He says that it has as many inhabitants as Bristol. It is of course Bristol in Pennsylvania he speaks of, for I do not think that he intends to compare this village to Bristol in England, a city having more than 50,000 inhabitants.

"Two miles northeast of Philadelphia there is a little river which flows into the Delaware. It is called Frankfort Creek. A mile from its mouth there is to be found a church of Sectarians, and many habitations are scattered near it. But this place has never shown any approach to a town, and I do not know whether there is any other settlement in Pennsylvania bearing the name of Frankfort."

[4] (Footnote in original pamphlet.) "This charter is dated from March

Besides I remarked to you that there was no hope for diverting the members of the Assembly from their obstinacy, since they had brought over to their side, the foreigners[5] who formed about one half of the population of Pennsylvania.

All that I feared has happened—since the defeat of General Braddock. The enemies have invaded the province and are masters of nearly all of the country between the Ohio and the Susquehanna.

In the beginning of December bands of savages advanced within twenty miles of Philadelphia, and it is to be feared that they intend to take up a fortified position as near as possible to this town. They have massacred and scalped a great number of families. Several thousand of the inhabitants near the borders of the colony left their homes taking refuge in the interior of this Province. A panic reigns amongs the people, and if some citizen enlist to face the enemy it is impossible to keep them under discipline, as the martial laws are not popular.

The result of all this will be the inevitable ruin of this rich and useful colony, if the King and Parliament do not interpose their authority to redress that grievance. Therefore, I have now much stronger reasons than formerly to rise up against the weak measures taken for the safety of this Province. I see my poor fellow-citizens, still covered with blood, left to their sufferings; our capital scarcely saved from the incursions and snares of the enemy, not farther from us than a day's journey.

The chief Quakers or Tremblers meet in this colony

4, 1680, old style, which has made several writers err, who fixed the date of the charter at 1680, not paying attention to the fact that, according to the old style, the year does not begin before Easter."

[5] *I. e.*, the Germans.—J. F. S.

every month, and beside this once more during the year. Religious questions are not the sole object of these meetings, as they have degenerated into political intrigues, where they fix the elections of the members of the Assembly, and issue their orders to the different meetings of that sect.

The Tremblers have bribed the Germans, persuading them that they would be rendered slaves, if it ever happened that any one not a Trembler should be elected a member of the Assembly. There is no lie nor malevolent insinuation concerning these elections which has not been told these foreigners. The number of Germans of different sects has of late greatly increased in this Province. They have most all objected against the carrying of arms, on account of their religious principles. In these sentiments they are encouraged by the Tremblers. For this purpose they have from time to time distributed among the Germans, books and pamphlets, written in a manner to fortify them in their principles never to resist an enemy—principles which will only result in the ruin of society.

But of all these papers the German newspaper is the most pernicious. Lately, at the time when alarm was spread around us and the danger greatest, people were assured in this newspaper that there was nothing to be feared from the enemy, and that if the French and their Indians should enter our territories, he would be blessed who would open unto them the doors of their houses and offer them bread and milk, and that by resisting them and having recourse to the weak weapons of man, would be a sin of most evident pride.

This doctrine was not alone that of the press. The preachers of the Tremblers stopped at nothing in their endeavor to get this into vogue throughout the whole colony. At the first news of General Braddock's defeat,

when terror appeared upon all faces, when our women and children were seen bursting out into tears, and when all honorable men shuddered at the situation of our country, the most famous preacher of the Tremblers of Philadelphia exhorted his audience to stand firm in their belief and principles of their faith, and not to do anything to defend themselves, nor to contribute anything that could procure the safety of this country, for, said he, "If weak fragments of an earthen pot clash together, what does that concern us?"

Having seen this excess of fanaticism of the Tremblers, we shall not be astonished that in the Assembly they publicly declared, they would not do as their neighbors and furnish money for the general defence of the colonies. Therefore the Governor, Mr. Morris, presenting to them the dangers resulting from such unwarranted conduct, said to them: "It seems to me that you have taken all the measures necessary in order that you might prevent any bill passing which fixed the raising of money for the defence of the colony. Should I have any doubt about it, when the Tremblers whose pressure you are following, publicly declared they would like better to suffer the trials of war than contribute anything for such an object, when you refused to furnish even horses and wagons to the late General Braddock for his expedition?"

This latter reproach [the writer continues] will astonish you, sir, who have read in the English newspapers, that all support of that kind has been furnished him promptly by Pennsylvania.

But I am giving you the facts as they actually occurred. When the general had arrived at Fort Cumberland he had hoped to find there all things necessary for his march to Fort Duquesne. Virginia and Maryland had promised to



Benj. Franklin

furnish some vehicles; but these colonies could not keep their word, vehicles being very scarce there and the horses very bad. Pennsylvania was the only province to furnish the needed number of vehicles and the necessary provisions.

Therefore our governor, before and after the arrival of General Braddock, had asked the Assembly to vote funds for that expedition. It should have granted this demand, much more readily as the neighboring colonies had furnished troops for the general service at great expense, while our Assembly did not give a single soldier. It contented itself with sending some presents of provisions and horses to the officers of the army, trying thus to win back their good graces, as they had loudly complained of its conduct. But whatever remonstrances Governor Morris made, it was impossible to obtain anything more.

General Braddock saw the season advancing without the least hope of being able to perform what he had planned. He expressed to Sir John Sinclair, quarter-master-in-chief, his dissatisfaction at having vexations everywhere. Sir John Sinclair, seeing that there was nothing to be gained except by force, threatened into the colony as into a hostile country, if the number of horses and wagons necessary for the service of the army were not forthwith sent to him.

In the meantime Benjamin Franklin, postmaster in the north of America, was with the army. This worthy citizen, seeing that if wagons were taken by military force in the Province, and without the assistance of the civil authorities, it might result in bad consequences; supposing, moreover, that it would be possible to induce the people to give whatever was wanted, provided they were only asked for it properly. He thought it his duty to speak about it

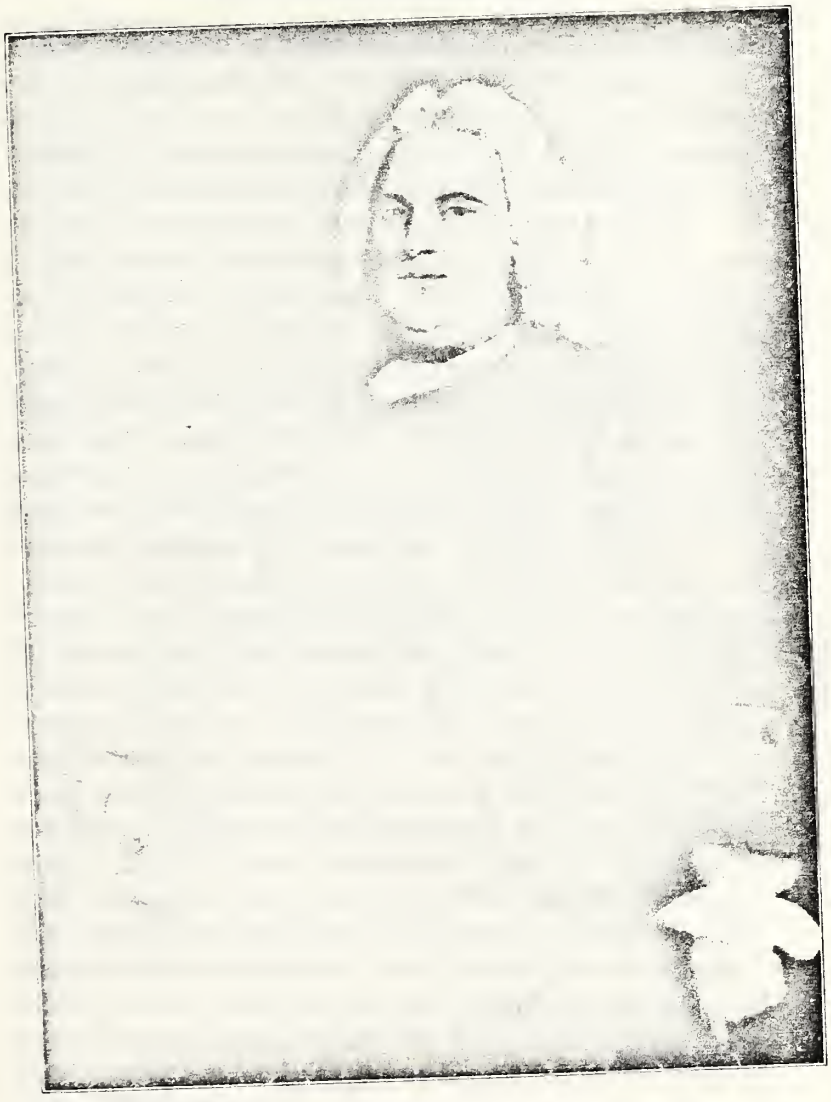
to General Braddock and asked him for the necessary time to induce his countrymen to furnish what he desired.

The general approved his proposition, gave him money, and authorized him to make a bargain for 160 wagons and a suitable number of draught horses.

Mr. Franklin went with all possible speed to the small market-town of Lancaster in the centre of the colony, where he happily met Mr. Allen, the chief justice, and two other judges. At that time there was a large concourse of people there, as the assizes were in session, where civil and criminal cases were judged in last resort. He told Mr. Allen of his plan, who cheerfully promised to help him. When therefore the people were assembled at the opening of the court, the chief justice drew a vivid picture in a pathetical manner, of the burdens required by duty to their King, who for the public safety had undertaken so expensive an expedition. Therefore he ordered the commissioners of police of every small market-town to assemble the inhabitants and to send him promptly an exact list of such horses and vehicles as they could furnish.

This plan was followed by the judges sitting at the same time in the county of York.

Mr. Franklin, on his part, published a broadside in German and English, in which he explained to the inhabitants that this furnishing would enable them to earn much money during the campaign. He did not forget to give them to understand that if, in consequence of their refusal, they obliged Sir John Sinclair to enter the colony, this Hussar would treat them as those among them who had come from Germany had been by the dragoons in their own country; that he would force them to obey and that they would deprive themselves of the occasion of showing their zeal for the welfare of their country and for the glory of their king.



Wm. Allen

The menace of two persons who had as much influence as Mr. Allen and Mr. Franklin over the spirit of the people and the care which the magistrates of the different counties of the colony took, provided the required number of teams without delay; and if it had been necessary, to furnish four times the number with the same facility.

The Assembly did not contribute anything. It was not even prorogued at that time. Mr. Franklin had the commission from the Assembly—only one from General Braddock. Those who had furnished their teams should not be paid by the colony, but by the King. To this day he still owes much money to the poor inhabitants who during this unfortunate expedition lost their horses and wagons, which were, to a great number of them, the only resource which they could rely on for the support of their families.

That is what really happened. Therefore we must not confer the praise upon the Assembly, given to the Province for having furnished General Braddock with the teams he needed. Upon the contrary, they must be blamed by everyone, for as our colony was able to furnish these teams, our Assembly is inexcusable for not having taken measures while it was convoked; and surely at the first demand of our Governor they should have fixed the price for these teams. Had it been necessary to employ authority, a simple justice of the peace, at the first notice of the general, might have sent him all the teams he required. By these means he could have found himself able to advance before the trees were covered with leaves, and to arrive at Fort Duquesne, long before the garrison had been reinforced, which undoubtedly would have enabled events to take another course.

The Assembly made many other mistakes; refused to give their consent to the offers made, in the name of the

proprietors of the colony, to grant territory west of the Allegheny Mountains, as by settlements established there the French might more easily be forced to retire beyond the Ohio. These lands should be given to officers and soldiers, who, far from paying anything for them, should even be exempt from any rent during a term of fifteen years, from the first of March, 1756.

These concessions made to these military men should pass on to their heirs and assigns without any rent or taxes except that of surveying; but on condition that they settle on them within three years, after the French were forced to retire from these districts.

The Assembly answered to these propositions that their offers were illusory; that the Governor was not authorized to make them; that, if they were accepted, the proprietors, after the patents of the concessions had been delivered, might exact a rent higher than the value of the lands; that the territories inhabited in Virginia were also good, more convenient, and to be had on conditions more advantageous.

But these were not the only quarrels between the Governor and the Assembly. Those which existed for two years as to the means of raising money in the colony were renewed and maintained with equal temper. Even after the defeat of General Braddock, everybody hoped that the Assembly, touched by the critical state in which their country then was, would promptly provide for its safety and avoid all that would raise many contentions. But from this we saw a new dispute arise regarding the tax of the possessions of the proprietors, and the Assembly manifested, by a notification sent to the Governor, that they would not deliberate about anything unless this point was settled. Meanwhile the colony was in a terrible danger, and the Assembly knew very well that legal questions were

involved in these debates. This question could not be decided without the opinion of the proprietors, who were in England. These gentlemen had never thought that so momentous a crisis should arise, which would impose taxes upon their estates. The more so, as the course of action was not alone contrary to the action of the previous assemblies but was also contrary to the laws of the colony.

This induced the Governor to refuse his consent to the bill sent to him on the occasion to raise a sum of £50,000 by a tax upon the real and personal property of the colony. No reproach can be made to him because of this refusal, for he, being bound by his instructions, could not swerve from them.

The principal inhabitants of Philadelphia and many other inhabitants of the different counties, full well feeling the dangers to which they were exposed, were so much alarmed that they thought that there was no other resource but to appeal to his Majesty. They resolved to have recourse to this, and therefore addressed a petition in which, having set forth the consternation of the inhabitants at seeing the colony of all, and without any defence, they showed the King how afflicting it was for them to see an unhappy police-system acting against nature—tying the arms of several thousand brave citizens, who would have applied themselves earnestly to drive back the enemy. They added that the savages, our allies, seeing us of such peaceable disposition, and being without any support had forsaken us—that this desertion had encouraged our enemies to continue their ambitious schemes and that as it seemed our colony would not adopt different principles, as long as the Tremblers who absolutely reject the carrying of arms, would find ways and means of retaining the seats they occupy in the Assembly. As it was seen that they abused their influence

over the foreigners settled amongst us—that under these circumstances the Petitioners did not see any other recourse for saving the colony than by the authority of his Majesty, by whose interference the colony would be enabled to defend itself for the present and provide for its safety in the future.

The petition was signed by the chief inhabitants of the town and some of the neighboring counties, and sent by a vessel sailing for London. If there had been time enough it would also have been signed by a large body of the settlers of the outlying counties, who were even more interested in the proposed measure. But, alas, before the copies sent to them could have reached them, all fears of the dangers therein set forth had already been realized.

Towards the middle of October a large body of Indians composed mainly of Shawanese and Delawares, invaded the province by different routes, nearly at the same time, massacring, burning and ravaging. Nothing was to be seen but a sad picture of destruction and devastation, in the five counties of Cumberland, York, Lancaster, Berks and Northampton, which included more than half of the territory of the colony.

The loss which these counties suffered, the abandoning of the plantation passes all valuation and fails to describe the terrible misery of the poor inhabitants. A great number have been obliged to flee from their homes without delay, where they enjoyed an abundance of all necessaries of life. Now they are exposed to the severity of the approaching winter, and find themselves compelled to beg for bread. As for those who fell into the hands of the savages, there is not to be found in history any event which compares with the horrible cruelties inflicted upon them.

At Gnadenhutten, a small Moravian settlement in North-



ON THE WAR PATH.

ampton County, while the settlers were seated peaceably at their supper, those cruel murderers, under cover of the night, which was as dark as their infernal plan, fell upon them stealthily, massacred them, and scalped them. They were set all on fire, consuming in the flames the bodies of the unfortunate settlers; their stores, provisions, horses, and about sixty head of horned cattle, which were destined for the Moravian brethren at Bethlehem. Thus, when the day was breaking there was nothing but a heap of cinders left.

At the "Cove" in Cumberland County, at Tulpehokin in the county of Berks, and in several other places, the savages exceeded all bounds—men, women, children and cattle were all destroyed, and in places where everything was not reduced to ashes, there were to be seen the bodies of men and animals torn to pieces and scattered about the ground. When the savages are victorious they celebrate their victory by perpetrating the most abominable cruelties in cold blood. Many particulars of their expeditions have been told to me; but I have been too much affected by those which follow not to repeat them.

A family consisting of the husband, wife and a new-born babe, were found murdered and scalped. The woman was found stretched out upon her bed; her body mutilated and her babe put under her head as a pillow. Near by lay the husband on the ground, his body opened with entrails protruding.

In another place a woman, nursing her baby, finding that she was ambushed, amidst the fear of inevitable death, threw herself down with her face to the ground, covering the child with her body. The savage then rushed forward from the spot where he had cowered, struck her with his tomahawk and scalped her, after which he fled to the

forest without seeing the baby, which shortly afterwards was drawn alive from beneath the body of its mother and is still alive.

In these various incursions, the savages have led away as captives a considerable number of our wives and daughters. They are, perhaps, destined to more cruel tortures than those whose death we have just reported. Would there be anything astonishing in fearing it? The savages are more cruel to their captives than to those on whom they vent their first rage.

59 After so many misfortunes, Scarroyady, one of the chiefs of our allied savages, a man of a very rare faith, bravery and intrepidity, came to find the Governor. Having been admitted to the Assembly he made a very touching speech to excite the members to defend the colony thoroughly and bravely. But he spoke in vain. It seemed that nothing was able to touch their hearts.

Complaints of the inhabitants of the borders.

60 At last the inhabitants of the borders of the colony lost patience. They presented petitions, made remonstrances, even threatened they would march to Philadelphia and massacre the members of the Assembly if they were not assisted immediately. They complained that it was an evident injustice not to allow the frontier-counties a convenient and proportional number of representatives in the Assembly and this was the reason why the legislative Assembly did not pay attention to their interests, and that their misfortunes in time of calamity were not paid attention to.

Defects in the Constitution of the Colony.

61 There are, in fact, with any free nation, few examples of disproportionate inequality such as are to be found in the way in which the people of this province is represented in the Assembly. Our colony is divided into eight counties.

The Assembly consists of thirty-six members[6] or representatives. The three oldest counties, where all Tremblers are settled, have the privilege of electing twenty-six of these members, while the five other counties, peopled by inhabitants of different religions, chiefly by Presbyterians from the north of Ireland, send but ten. This arrangement, made since the erection of these five counties, is a political move of the Tremblers. By it and by their influence over the Germans settled in the colony they always have the majority of votes in the Assembly, although they form only the fifth part of the people. 62

The Tremblers, seeing their peaceable system attacked by the demands and threatenings of the people of the frontier counties, presented, on the sixth of November, 1755, a petition to the Assembly, where they besought it to persevere in all they had done till now and not to order anything contrary to their religious principles. This petition clearly shows which was the spirit influencing the considerations of the Assembly, and that all the contests with the Governor were nothing but pretexts to gain time and to favor the party of the Tremblers. For as these had declared openly that they would rather suffer than contribute to the defence of the colony, the members of the Assembly did not venture to impose taxes on them, the produce of which would be applicable on these grounds; they feared to lose their seats in the Assembly through the influence of the Tremblers at the election. Petition of the Tremblers to the Assembly. 63 64

Most of the inhabitants of Philadelphia read the petition of the Tremblers with indignation. It was considered as a step of intolerable boldness and people felt well The greatest number of the inhabitants is of-

[6] The author here only speaks of real Pennsylvania or Upper Pennsylvania; for the three counties on the Bay of Delaware, which are called the territories or Lower-Pennsylvania, appoint eighteen additional members to represent them.

fended by it. that, if it was taken notice of, the lot of most of the inhabitants of the colony was sacrificed to the illegitimate advantage of the band of fanatical madcaps.

65 Remonstrances of the inhabitants of Philadelphia to the Assembly.

This determined the mayor of the town to invite the inhabitants of all positions to come to see him on the twelfth of November in order to give him their opinion about the present situation of affairs and to join with him in making remonstrances to the Assembly. He proposed as a remedy against the principles of the Tremblers to insist not only in imposing taxes, applicable to the defence of the colony, but also in urgently demanding the introduction of a military law, that the country should no longer be sacrificed to the interests of a party. In consequence of this, on the twelfth of November, the appointed day, they wrote a remonstrance where the necessity of establishing a military power in the colony was proved by arguments, without any further word. The chief inhabitants signed them and they were immediately delivered to the Assembly by the mayor in their name.

66

Remonstrances of the representatives of the town.

67

These representations were followed by very strong remonstrances, delivered some days after by the representatives of the town as a political body. In a word, everybody in the colony was irritated against the Assembly, and the dexterity of their members did not succeed in extinguishing the flames which appeared from everywhere. The people whose sufferings were increasing demanded to be protected. They were not willing to listen to what they were insinuating to them about the danger to their liberty and their privileges at a time when the enemy was ready to thrust his sword into the breast of the citizens, would deprive them of it as of their lives. This was a good opportunity to purify our Assembly forever from the representatives of the Tremblers; but as our constitution did not

give the Governor the power of dissolving the Assembly, there was no possibility of diminishing it and of proceeding to new elections. 68

Our Assembly saw very well that people were driven to despair and were not to be trifled with. Every day there were brought requests and remonstrances signed by a great number of inhabitants. They all insisted on passing a law establishing a militia, an absolutely necessary thing to reunite our natural forces and to be able to make use of them. It would have been a very dangerous decision to defer the answer to this justifiable request for a moment; but to yield to them was to destroy the party of the Tremblers. There remained only one possibility to avert the danger which threatened it, which was to enact a military law so framed that the Governor was reduced to the following alternative: 69

The Assembly is compelled to enact a military law.

Firstly, if he refused to pass it, such as it was, and if he intended to make some modifications, the representatives of the Tremblers in the Assembly were resolved not to consent to any, but to pick a quarrel over the bill hoping to put an end to the cries of the people against them. Then they would have said that they had been ready to pass a military law but that the Governor had not wished to accede to it. 70

Secondly, if he had given his assent to the bill, they would have blended into it their interests so well and made it such as to deprive the King of his most essential prerogatives.

The Governor found out their intentions. But thinking that this bill was only to last eleven months, he believed that meanwhile people, noticing the mistakes, would be the more convinced of its absurdity than by all the efforts made by him to reveal them at the present time. Therefore he passed the bill immediately, which not a little mortified the members of the Assembly, who would have liked better 71

The Governor gives his assent.

that debates should have arisen between him and them on account of it.

The people complain of this law.

As soon as the law[7] had been published, the people, seeing in what spirit it had been made, was indignant at it. Nobody would act according to it and there has not yet been any citizen who has regarded it as a duty to conform

72 to it. Some counties, on the contrary, have assembled already and dressed up remonstrances against this law, protesting that they would not consent to it nor coöperate in its execution. So we are in a worse situation than ever. We surely hope that by the intervention of his Majesty in consequence of our most respectful request we shall have a law establishing in our colony a militia such as our safety demands. This military law was passed on the twenty-fifth of November, in the evening. In the morning the representatives of the town had presented their remon-

73 strances mentioned above; this finally determined the Assembly.

The most important inhabitants of the borders come to Philadelphia.

The day before, about 400 inhabitants, mostly Dutchmen, and the most wealthy of those who live on the borders of the colony, seeing themselves too much exposed to remain any longer in their habitations, came to Philadelphia to implore the protection of the Assembly and to pray it to interrupt every fruitless dispute. Deep sorrow was expressed by their features and showed their misery.

They go to the Governor.

First they called on the Governor, who spoke to them with kindness and with all possible consideration. He told them it was not his fault that they remained without any help or protection; that he himself had ever been ready and

74 was still so to give his consent to every reasonable law which would provide for their defence, if it was presented by the Assembly. At the same time he told them that two

[7] There is to be found at the end of this book the translation of this law.

days before he received a letter from the proprietors of the colony, who begged him to make in their name a gift of £5,000 (nearly 114,000 livres) and to employ it for assistance in the present state of affairs. He showed this letter to some of the chief personages of the people. This 75
happy news made them mad with joy and they left him, loading him with blessings.

From there they went to the Assembly, and having been admitted after many difficulties they stated their griefs to them. The members of the Assembly tried to lay the blame for what had happened on the Governor, and asked them if they were very happy at losing their liberty. The people replied that they did not wish to enter into the disputes which occupied them; that they wanted to be defended. and that they did not understand what they were told about the danger to public liberty when the safety of the lives of the citizens was not provided for. The members of the Assembly, seeing how things went on, thought it necessary to appease these inhabitants, promising them that they should be helped immediately, and consequently a bill was passed by which £60,000 (1,360,000 livres) were accorded to them, in which were included the £5,000 of the present of the proprietors. This bill was sent to the Governor the next morning. He immediately gave his consent to it. Surely he would have consented four months before if the members of the Assembly at that time had agreed to all that concerned the use of the employment of this money, and once at least abandoned the unjust pretension of taxing the proprietors of the colony, whom they did not represent, two points on which they yielded at last, on seeing there was no more possibility of disputing them.

They are admitted to the Assembly.

76

Subsidy accorded by the Assembly.

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78

These are the misfortunes which have afflicted the poor

inhabitants of the borders of Pennsylvania, who, having committed no fault, have been cruelly plundered, tortured and massacred by a most terrible enemy. And all this without having any possibility of resisting them, or the advantage of being protected, as they had the right to demand to be by those who were established to watch over their safety. May we imagine their misfortunes or think of their misery without being moved by compassion? If
79 we consider the Tremblers as simple citizens, they merit the esteem which they gained by their modest exterior, the moderation of their conduct to all those with whom they have affairs, and by the honorable simplicity which accompanies all their actions. But if we consider them as legislators, they will not appear to us to the same advantage. The maxims which have to regulate the actions of statesmen are not the same as those according to which an individual should conduct himself.

The spirit of this sect is too inflexible to be adapted for
80 the circumstances of time, and for the rapid revolutions to which all society is exposed and to which every system must adapt itself.

Report

81 *Containing the continuation of what happened in Pennsylvania from the first incursions of the savages, Chuanons and Delawares, to the end of August, 1756.*

THE defeat of General Braddock having quite decided in the interests of France, the savages living on the banks of the Ohio, some bands of these made a few inroads on the borders of Pennsylvania where they knew that the English were not on their guard. They tried to
82 win the Delawares who had their dwellings in the vicinity



INTERIOR OF A TEPEE OF AN INDIAN CHIEF.

of this colony and on its borders. And when these savages hesitated before they took a part, the imprudence of the English determined them to declare themselves against them. Here is what gave rise to it.[8]

The Delawares declare themselves against the English.

Some Englishmen had been sent out as scouts and had come to Shamokin. Shortly after a small detachment of Frenchmen and savages arrived from the banks of the Ohio in the vicinity. Scarrogady, one of the chiefs of the Iroquois tribes, warned the English to retire, and advised them to go back the eastern bank of the river. Therefore they decided to return, but, instead of taking the way by the eastern side of the river, they passed by the western side. This made them fall into ambuscade which the French band had laid them. Four of them were killed; the others fled away. 83

Immediately after the defeat of these Englishmen, a trader[9] of the same nation came to Wyoming and told the the savages, the Delawares, of this village that it was well known that they had killed his countrymen and that the English would avenge themselves on their nation. These words moved a great number of Delawares to meet at Wyoming in order to make head against the English, if they came attacking them. This meeting of the savages was regarded by the English as the first step in declaring hostilities which they intended to begin against them. Accordingly, without making any further inquiries and without waiting till the Delawares had attacked them, they seized all those who were settled in the colony and arrested 232 of them, of both sexes and all ages. 84 85

One of these prisoners escaped and gave his countrymen notice of what had just happened in Pennsylvania. Hear-

[8] Account of the conferences of Johnson with the Iroquois.

[9] Those who trade with the savages in their villages are called traders.

ing this they were still more on their guard and sent out scouts to see if some bands of the English did not advance to begin hostilities.

86 They put the English representatives to death.

Meanwhile four Englishmen arrived. They were deputied but too late to arrange with the savages about the dissension. When they had given an account of their mission and made some proposition for an arrangement, the savage who had escaped out of prison, seeing that the Delawares were ready to negotiate with them, cried: "Do not believe in what these men tell you, they only intend to deceive you in order to take you prisoners or to put you to the edge of

87 the sword." At once the savages, interrupting the conference, rushed to their battle-axes and put the four representatives to death. So hostilities began. A part of the fatal consequences which they had for the English was already to be seen; the savages continued to attack them

They destroy Ninisinks. with the same success. In the January of the present year they fell upon the village of Ninisinks, where they put to death 78 persons and burnt 43 habitations.[10] One of the chiefs of the Delawares, called Captain Jacob, having distinguished himself chiefly in these incursions, a price was set on his head at Philadelphia, just as on that of some other chiefs of the savages, which made them hate the English still more.

88 All these hostilities made arrangements in Pennsylvania go more quickly. The law for the establishment of a militia in this colony was not very successful; nobody hastened to enlist. In fact, this would have been a trick. As the Tremblers, the Anabaptists, and all those who on principle of conscience have declared against carrying arms, even as those of other religions who did not want to engage

[10] Extract from a letter written in Virginia last February 4th.

in it, were not on that account subjected to any charge or special tax. The result of it was that those who would have enlisted in the militia, had had as only compensation the honor of serving their country at their own expenses and of providing for the surety of those who had not the same willingness. 89

But this law served at least as a plan of levying bodies of infantry maintained entirely on a war-footing; and the subsidy of 1,365,000 livres (£60,000) awarded by the Assembly at the end of November was employed for their pay and equipment, and for the building of forts to protect the colony and to put an end to the incursions of the savages. Levy of troops in Pennsylvania. 90

In the beginning of May there were already 1,500 men levied. They only thought of remaining on the defensive, these troops having little experience. Besides there was want of muskets in the colony to arm them conveniently. The arrival of a ship which brought two thousand guns for the government removed this inconvenience.

Towards the end of May the Assembly resolved that there once more a sum of £40,000 (910,000 livres tournois) should be levied by a tax on estates, and ordered that it should be applied to the defence of the colony.[11] All this did not pass without debates. The disputes of the Assembly with the Governor still continued and public affairs suffered much delay. The Tremblers did not desist from their system of non-resistance, in spite of the bad situation of the colony. Their fanatic and strange obstinacy, however, discredited their party. Six members of this sect, apparently fatigued of finding so much opposition to their opinions, resigned their place in the Assembly on June 3. The Assembly grants a new subsidy. 91 92

[11] Letter from Philadelphia last May 31st.

About the same time their most celebrated preachers, seeing the hatred which their peaceful sermons attracted them from the other sects, came to the decision to leave the colony and to pass over to Ireland. At that time some deputies of the Tremblers from London were expected and there was hope they would appease these troubles.

The English try to reconcile themselves with the Delawares.

Although war against the Delawares had been declared in due form, in the beginning of spring, in the meantime, they let the colony remain rather quiet for about six weeks. These advantages were owing to the negotiations of Sir William Johnson.[12] He had exerted his influence over the
93 Iroquois to engage them in bringing the Delawares and the Shawaneses or Chouanons to peace again. The Iroquois have a great ascendency over these savages; they conquered and subjected them in earlier times. To-day they regard them as their allies and they call them cousins in their harrangues. The proceedings of Johnson were highly as-
94 sisted by the intervention of some of the most important Tremblers who persuaded a tribe of the Iroquois with whom they had held a conference to take part in bringing about the same end. The English profited by this time of tranquility to again take some places they had abandoned and to fortify themselves there. They even planned to build a considerable fort at Shamokin on the Susquehanna, an important passage near the Allegheny Mountains, about 150 miles (54 lienes communes) in the northwest of Phila-
95 delphia. Four hundred men were to be sent there for this purpose. But the news of the taking of Fort Bigham spread consternation and depression among them.

The fort situated in the valley of the Tuscorara protected

[12] He is the one that commanded the English in the battle fought last autumn near Lake Holy Sacrement.

the colony on that side. On June 11 it was assailed, carried by storm and burnt down by the savages; all those who were in were put to death or led away as prisoners. After the retreat of the enemies there was no whole body to be found except that of a pregnant woman who had been murdered and scalped[13] near the fort.

96 The peace negotiations with the Delawares continue.

This new loss did not stop the negotiations with the savages. Mr. Morris proclaimed on the sixteenth at Philadelphia that the hostilities against the Delawares should cease for thirty days or at least till the result of the measures taken to reconcile them firmly with the English had been published. Sir Johnson who had left his estate above Albany[14] on June 3 to continue his negotiations with the savages passed several villages of the Iroquois. Having assembled their most important chiefs at Onondago, he made them such fine promises that several assured him not only to remain faithful to the English but even to make all their efforts to reconcile them with those of their brethren and their friends who had taken their battle-axes against them. The Tremblers of Pennsylvania[15] encouraged by these hopes exerted themselves again to obtain a conference with the chiefs of the Delawares, and got the permission to send a deputation into the village where their chiefs generally assemble when treating on questions interesting the people. This deputation was rather kindly received and many speeches were made on both sides. William Penn, when establishing the first settlements of Pennsylvania, had had the policy of obtaining influence with the savages and attaching them by presents. His memory is

97

98 They receive a deputation.

[13] Letters of Philadelphia, June 17.

[14] Letters of Albany, June 11.

[15] Letters of Philadelphia, July 22, and account of the conferences of Sir Johnson.

still held in veneration by them. When they speak of him they call him "Onas," a surname for a friendship given him during his lifetime. The deputies of the Tremblers
99 announced themselves as his descendents, having the same peaceful feelings as he and the same faithfulness in keeping their word. The Delawares showed much grief at all that had happened. Presents were given them. A project of a treaty was agreed upon and it was resolved to meet at Bethlehem, a village twenty-five miles to the northeast of
The English make peace with the Delawares. Philadelphia, in order to sign it. Therefore, in the middle
100 of July, two deputies of the Council and three deputies of the Assembly set out to go to Bethlehem, taking with them about fifty of the chief Tremblers, as the savages had declared they would not sign any treaty without them. Several chiefs of the Delawares with a hundred warriors went to the same place. We are assured that peace was signed with them and that they promised to show themselves opposed to all those of their nation who would trouble the children of Onas and that they would treat them as their own enemies.

Taking of Fort Granville. The treaty for which Captain Jacob, on whose head a
101 price had been set at Philadelphia, surely had not been called did not detach him from France. In the beginning of August he again spread terror in the colony.[16] He was one of the principal chiefs of a party of savages near the Ohio and the Delaware, at the head of whom some Frenchmen of the garrison of the forts of these parts were. This body, having left their baggage and horses about five days' journey from the inhabitated places in Pennsylvania, divided in order to make incursions into this colony. The
102 most considerable detachment, consisting of about a hun-

[16] Private letters of Philadelphia, August 19.

dred men, amongst whom there was Jacob, entered the county of Cumberland and marched towards Fort Granville, which protects the valley of Sheerman. Captain Ward had just left this fort with his ensign and the strongest part of his company; he had only left his lieutenant with twenty-three men to protect some reapers who worked in the valley. The detachment of the Frenchmen and savages first harassed Captain Ward on his retreat. But their
leader, judging by this meeting that the garrison of Fort 103
Granville could not be considerable, came to the decision to attack it at once. The Frenchmen and the savages, having passed the night in the forests, marched the next day along the river Juniata, and having arrived quite near the fort, they picked up combustible materials and set the palisades enclosing it on fire. Armstrong, lieutenant of Ward, who commanded there, came running up to put this fire out; he himself and an English soldier were killed and three were wounded. The French then offering to give
the English quarter if they surrendered themselves, they 104
at once opened the gates of the fort. There was only one savage slightly wounded during this attack; twenty-two soldiers, three women, and six children were taken prisoners. The French, after having raised their standard on the fort, shared their prisoners with the savages. They loaded them with sugar and the very best they found in the fort and went away. When at some distance, the troops made a halt and the French commander sent back Captain Jacob with his savages to burn and destroy the fort, which
he did. The French, arriving at the place where they had 105
left their baggage, found there ten savages and some English prisoners, who told them that other savages having come back from their incursions, had already returned towards the Ohio with a great number of prisoners.

During the expedition against Fort Granville some small bodies of savages appeared in the other districts of the county of Cumberland. Two soldiers were killed and one wounded near Fort Dowell, August 5; on the seventh, one
106 inhabitant was killed in the same district, on the eighth, another was put to death, and four of his children were carried away. All the inhabitants of the valleys of Juniata and Sheerman were abandoned on account of these incursions, and there was general consternation in the colony.

But it is astonishing that all these troubles and alarms were the work of two tribes of savages, the Chouanons and the Delawares, who have scarcely eight hundred warriors altogether. What, therefore, have not the English to fear now, as the taking of Oswego or Choueguen opens their colonies to the incursions of all the tricks of savages who are allied to us? The destruction of the forts they
107 had erected there, is all the more important as, through this station, in the center of Canada, they kept the whole colony in check. It will not be necessary now to have strong garrisons in the Forts Frontenac, Niagara and others on Lake Ontario. A great many of the troops and the savages, who had to be there for their safety, may now be employed to attack the English. I shall not add here any idea of my own. I leave to those who read this book the pleasure of making speculations on the new successes
108 which we are expecting from the courage and the willingness of our troops, of our Canadians, and of the savages who are our allies. If, in addition, the English have begun hostilities in southern America, with the most resolute audacity, they have supported the but little favorable idea which people had of their bravery.

The Pennsylvania-German Society

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS, FOUNDERS, ANNUAL MEETINGS, OFFICERS AND MEMBERS DURING THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY AND CHURCH RECORDS
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CONSTITUTION

ARTICLE I—Name

The name of this organization shall be "The Pennsylvania-German Society."

ARTICLE II—Object

The object of the Society shall be:

First: To perpetuate the memory and foster the principles and virtues of the German ancestors of its members, and to promote social intercourse among the latter.

Secondly: To discover, collect and preserve all still existing documents, monuments, etc., relating to the genealogy and history of the Pennsylvania-Germans, and from time to time publish them, particularly such as shall set forth the part belonging to this people in the growth and development of American character, institutions and progress.

Thirdly: To gather by degrees a library for the use of the Society, composed of all obtainable books, monographs, pamphlets, manuscripts, etc., relating to the Pennsylvania-Germans.

Fourthly: To cause statedly to be prepared and read before the Society, papers, essays, etc., on questions in the history or genealogy of the Pennsylvania-Germans.

ARTICLE III—Membership

Section 1. First: The members of the Society shall consist of three classes, viz.: Regular, Associate and Honorary.

Secondly: No one shall be eligible as a regular member unless he be of full age, of good moral character, and a direct descendant of early German or Swiss emigrants to Pennsylvania.

Thirdly: No one shall be eligible as an associate member unless he be of full age, good moral character, and of German descent not native in this State, or a foreign-born German naturalized and resident in this State not less than ten years. The rights and privileges of an associate member shall be the same as those of a regular member, except that he shall be ineligible to office, and shall have no vote on questions of property or location.

Fourthly: Persons who have made the history, genealogy, principles, etc., of the Pennsylvania-Germans a special subject of study and research, and any other persons eminent in their profession or calling, to whatever nationality they may belong, who have shown themselves in sympathy with the Pennsylvania-Germans, shall be eligible to honorary membership.

Sec. 2. The mode of electing members shall be as follows: Candidates may be proposed in writing to the Executive Committee. Such nominations, with a written statement of the name, address, occupation and descent of each candidate, shall be considered at the next meeting of said Committee after the nomination has been made, who shall pass thereon. If no objection be made the said committee shall report favorably upon the nomination, and the candidates shall be considered as duly elected; but if any member of the Executive Committee demand a ballot, the election shall be by ballot, and a two-thirds vote of the members of the Committee present shall be necessary to elect.

Sec. 3. The annual dues of regular and associate members shall be two dollars.[1] In both cases payment must be made in advance. The payment of twenty-five dollars constitutes any regular a life member.[2]

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[1] At the Bethlehem meeting October 16, 1895, the following was offered as an amendment to the by-laws, and adopted:

That the annual dues of the members be increased from $2.00 to $3.00, beginning with

Regular and associate members must pay their first annual dues and sign this Constitution, before entering upon the enjoyment of the rights and privileges of membership.

ARTICLE IV—Officers

Section 1. First: The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, a Secretary, a Treasurer and an Executive Committee of eleven members.

Secondly: The President, Vice Presidents and Treasurer shall be elected at each annual meeting; and the President shall be ineligible for re-election.

Thirdly: The Secretary shall be elected for a term of three years and shall be *ex-officio* a member of the Executive Committee.

Fourthly: The Executive Committee elected at the first election shall divide itself into five classes. The first class of two members shall hold office for five years; the second class of two for four years; the third class of two for three years; the fourth class of two for two years, and the fifth class of two for one year. At each annual meeting thereafter successors shall be chosen to the class whose terms shall then expire.

Sec. 2. All elections shall be by ballot, under the direction of inspectors, to be appointed by the President, and a majority of votes shall elect.

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the close of the present meeting, and that each member, who has fully paid up all his dues in accordance with the rules of the Society, shall receive gratis, a copy of the printed "Proceedings," beginning with Volume VI, of 1896, or with the volume of the year for which he made his first payment of annual dues, at the increased rate.

[2] At the Philadelphia meeting October 15, 1896, the following was offered as an amendment to the by-laws, and adopted:

Resolved, That the Life Membership fee be increased from $25 to $50, and that Section 3 of Article III of the By-Laws be amended accordingly.

Sec. 4. Should any member neglect to pay his annual dues for one year after the same shall become due, he shall *ipso facto* cease to be a member of the Society, unless, upon a satisfactory excuse being given, and the payment of all arrearages, the Executive Committee shall see fit to remit the penalty.

Sec. 5. The Executive Committee shall have power, by a vote of a majority of its members, to suspend or forfeit the membership of any member of the Society for conduct likely to endanger the welfare and interests of the Society, an opportunity being first given such member to be heard before the Executive Committee in his defense.

Sec. 6. Any person who shall cease to be a member of the Society shall forfeit all right or interest in the property of the Society.

ARTICLE V—Duties of Officers

First: The duties of the President shall be those usually pertaining to that office; and also to deliver an address at the annual meeting.

Secondly: The duties of the Vice President shall be the same as those ordinarily belonging to that office.

Thirdly: The duties of the Secretary shall be to keep an accurate record of all the proceedings of the Society; to conduct the correspondence of the Society; to notify members of the meetings of the Society; to inform officers and new members of their election; to countersign all drafts made on the Treasurer; and to call and arrange for all writings of the Society, under the direction of the Executive Committee; he shall also act as Librarian and Curator, and have the keeping of all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and personal articles pertaining to the Society.

Fourthly: The duties of the Treasurer shall be to collect, and under the direction of the Executive Committee disburse the funds of the Society and to keep regular accounts thereof, which shall be subject to the examination of the President and the Executive Committee. He shall submit a statement thereof to the Executive Committee at each regular meeting, and his accounts shall be audited once every year.[3]

Fifthly: The Duties of the Executive Committee shall be to examine and pass upon the credentials of candidates; to engage suitable persons to deliver the addresses and prepare the papers contemplated in this Constitution; to make all other arrangements necessary for the meetings of the Society, and to transact all business of the Society not otherwise provided for in the Constitution. It shall also have power to fill any vacancy which may occur from death or resignation among the officers of the Society, for the unexpired term of the office so vacated.

Sixthly: The Executive Committee shall, from time to time, make by-laws, rules and regulations, and appoint standing committees and sub-committees on matters not herein determined.[4]

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[3] October 11, 1893, at the York meeting, an amendment was offered, which was approved at the Reading meeting, Oct. 3, 1894, making the Treasurer an *ex-officio* member of the Executive Committee.

[4] The minute-book of the Executive Committee shows the appointment of the follow-

ARTICLE VI—Meetings

1. The Society shall hold one regular meeting each year, to be known as the anniversary meeting, which shall be characterized by special exercises, including a banquet, to be arranged for by the Executive Committee.

2. The Executive Committee shall have authority to call three additional meetings of the Society each year, time and place to be designated by the Executive Committee, at each of which the current business of the Society may be transacted, and one or more papers or essays shall be read on questions in the genealogy or history of the Pennsylvania-Germans.

3. The Executive Committee shall hold its regular meetings on the same dates as the regular meetings of the Society, and special meetings, whenever called by its chairman, notice of which must be given to each member of the Committee not less than ten days prior to the meeting.[6]

ARTICLE VII—Headquarters

The Headquarters of the Society shall be located in .....

ARTICLE VIII—Amendments to the Constitution

1. To amend the Constitution an affirmative vote of two-thirds of the members present at the annual meeting shall be requisite.

2. Amendments to the Constitution can be offered only at the annual meeting, and no amendment shall be voted upon at the same meeting at which it is offered.

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ing sub-committees: Membership, Dues and Deliveries, Editorial, Proof and Indexing, Printing and Illustrating, Genealogy, History and Tradition, Finance, Insignia[5] and Stationery, Pennsylvania-German Dialect Literature, and Pennsylvania-German Anthology.

[5] The following resolution was adopted at the Bethlehem meeting October 16, 1895: That the Executive Committee be directed and empowered to get up a suitable insignia for the Society, the details of same to be left to its judgment.

[6] February 26, 1891, the Executive Committee passed a resolution, to hold its meetings quarterly on the second Wednesday of January, April, July and October in each year.

BY-LAWS[7]

I—Order of Business

At all meetings of the Society the order of business shall be as follows:

1. Reading and Adoption of the Minutes of the Previous Meeting.
2. Reports of Officers and Committees.
3. Miscellaneous Business.
4. Reading of Papers or Delivery of Addresses.
5. Adjournment.

II—Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Society shall be held on the second Wednesday of October at such place and hour as the Executive Committee shall appoint,[8] and at least ten days' notice of the same shall be sent to each member by the Secretary.

III—Appointment of Committees

All committees except the Executive Committee and its sub-committees shall be appointed by the President or the Chairman of the meeting, unless specially named in the resolution creating the committee; and the person first named shall be chairman of each committee.

IV—The Executive Committee

The Executive Committee shall each year divide itself into the following sub-committees: A Committee of Three on Finance; a Committee of Three on Genealogy; and a Committee of Five on History and Tradition. These committees to be appointed by the Chairman.

V—The Committee on Finance

The Committee on Finance shall, at least once in each year, and oftener, if they choose, audit the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer of the Society, and report upon the same at the annual meeting of the Society, and oftener to the Executive Committee, as they may see fit, or as the latter may order.

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[7] Adopted by the Executive Committee, July 8, 1891.

[8] Resolution offered at the Bethlehem meeting, October 16, 1895, and adopted: That the matter of fixing upon a time for the annual meetings be left in the hands of the Executive Committee.

VI—The Committee on Genealogy

It shall be the duty of the Committee on Genealogy to collect and preserve, in accordance with the Constitution, information and documents relating to the Genealogy of the members of the Society, and of the German and Swiss Settlers of Pennsylvania and of the American colonies. The Committee may expend the funds of the Society for this purpose, subject to the subsequent approval of the Executive Committee.

VII—The Committee on History and Tradition

It shall be the duty of the Committee on History and Tradition to collect and preserve, in accordance with the Constitution, information, documents, books, and monuments relating to the history and traditions of the members of the Society, and of the German and Swiss settlers and their descendants in Pennsylvania and the rest of the United States, and to print and publish the same; and papers and essays relating to the same, copyrighting original publications for the benefit of the Society. The Committee may expend the funds of the Society for this purpose, subject to the subsequent approval of the Executive Committee.

VIII—Attendance of Members of the Executive Committee

Neglect on the part of any member of the Executive Committee to attend the meeting of said Committee for three consecutive meetings, shall be a tender of his resignation from that Committee. But the Committee may excuse any member for such absence if good and sufficient reasons therefor be given.

IX—Amendments

These By-Laws can be altered, amended or abrogated only at a regular meeting of the Executive Committee, by the affirmative vote of six members of the said Executive Committee.

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

Twenty-Five Years of History

After an agitation of the subject, in the early winter of 1891, by the editors of papers in Lebanon, Lancaster, Berks and Carbon Counties, and the formal issuance of a Call, a Convention for the purpose of organizing a Pennsylvania-German Society met in Lancaster on April 15, 1891. It adopted a constitution, and effected a permanent organization, with officers and an Executive Committee.

The First Annual Meeting was held on October 14, 1891, in Harrisburg. Similar historical, festive and social meetings have followed without a break, and have included pilgrimages to the Ephrata Cloister, the institutions at Bethlehem, Washington's Headquarters at Valley Forge, the historical sites at Germantown and on the Wissahickon, and last, but not least, through Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

The Society at present numbers 396 members, residing in different States. The treasury always has shown a large balance to its credit. The Society has published annually a volume of Proceedings, in which are treated the history and influence of the early German settlements, with many interesting and delightful papers. The work of the Society, usually, is planned by its Executive Committee, whose meetings are held regularly four times a year. The Society has published various old church records, and has made its influence felt in the careful preservation of documents in the Archives of the State of Pennsylvania.

In this quarter of a century the Society has become strongly rooted, and is in a very healthful condition. It looks forward to enlarge usefulness, and advises its members to make sure that their children have taken their places in this work that it may be continued into future generations.

FOUNDERS

Honorable Edwin Albright[9]

Reverend Herman A. Brickenstein

Robert Koch Buehrle, Ph.D.

Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Honorable Maurice C. Eby[10]

William Henry Egle, M.D.[11]

Lee Light Grumbine, Esq.[12]

Reverend J. Max Hark, D.D.

Honorable Jeremiah S. Hess

Reverend Abraham R. Horne, D.D.[13]

Reverend Franklin Klein Levan, D.D.[14]

E. Winfield Scott Parthemore[15]

Captain Edward Henry Rauch[16]

Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D.

Reverend Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D., LL.D.

Reverend Paul deSchweinitz, D.D.

Reverend John Summers Stahr, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.

Hiram Young[17]

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9 Died December 13, 1902.
10 Died April 4, 1914.
11 Died February 19, 1901.
12 Died August 18, 1904.
13 Deceased.
14 Died November 13, 1894.
15 Died April 25, 1909.
16 Deceased.
17 Died July 13, 1905.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

1891–1915

Lancaster, County Court House.....April 15, 1891
Harrisburg, Young Men's Christian Association.....October 14, 1891
Lebanon, County Court House.....October 12, 1892
York, County Court House.....October 11, 1893
Reading, Hall of McLean Post, No. 16, G. A. R.....October 3, 1894
Bethlehem, Young Women's Christian Association.....October 16, 1895
Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.....October 15, 1896
Lancaster, Orange Street Opera House.....October 22, 1897
Allentown, Euterpean Club.....October 14, 1898
Ephrata, Bethany Reformed Church.....October 20, 1899
Easton, First Reformed Church.....October 26, 1900
Harrisburg, Board of Trade Building.....October 25, 1901
Norristown, Young Men's Christian Association Hall....October 3, 1902
Lebanon, Salem Memorial Lutheran Chapel.....October 22, 1903
Germantown, Market Square Presbyterian Church.....October 25, 1904
Reading, Chapel of St. Paul's Memorial Reformed Church October 27, 1905
Allentown, Chapel of Muhlenberg College.....November 2, 1906
Philadelphia, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.....November 8, 1907
Lancaster, Chapel of Franklin and Marshall College....November 6, 1908
Bethlehem, Moravian Sunday School Building,.....October 29, 1909
York, Parish House of Christ Lutheran Church.....October 14, 1910
Harrisburg, Senate Chamber of the State Capitol.....October 20, 1911
Riegelsville, St. John's Reformed Church.....October 4, 1912
Philadelphia, Auditorium, Houston Hall, Univ. of Penn..October 17, 1913
Lancaster, First Reformed Church.....November 13, 1914
Reading, Young Men's Christian Association Hall.....October 15, 1915

OFFICERS

1915–1916

President

PROF. GEORGE TAYLOR ETTINGER, Ph.D.

Vice-Presidents

COLONEL HARRY C. TREXLER
FRANK SHALTER LIVINGOOD, A.B. (Harvard)

Secretary

DANIEL WUNDERLICH NEAD, M.D.
(*P. O. Box 468, Reading, Pa.*)

Treasurer

JOHN EDGAR BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M.D.
(*Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.*)

Executive Committee

REVEREND THEODORE EMANUEL SCHMAUK, D.D., LL.D., Chairman
JOHN EDGAR BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M.D., *Ex-Officio*
REVEREND L. KRYDER EVANS, D.D.
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FACKENTHAL, JR., Sc.D.
HARRY WINSLOW FEGLEY
GEORGE ALBERT GORGAS, Ph.G.
NAAMAN HENRY KEYSER, D.D.S.
ULYSSES SIDNEY KOONS, LL.B.
DANIEL WUNDERLICH NEAD, M.D., *Ex-Officio*
PROF. ALBERT GEORGE RAU, Ph.D.
CHARLES RHOADS ROBERTS
JULIUS FRIEDRICH SACHSE, Litt.D.
WILLIAM KOPP TRITLE SAHM, M.D.
REVEREND NATHAN C. SCHAEFFER, D.D., LL.D.
ABRAHAM S. SCHROPP
PORTER WILLIAM SHIMER, Ph.D.
REVEREND JOHN BAER STOUDT

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY DURING THE FIRST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF ITS EXISTENCE.

PRESIDENTS

1891 Hon. George F. Baer, LL.D. *Pro Temp.*[18]
1891–1892 William Henry Egle, M.D.[19]
1892–1893 Henry L. Fisher, Esq.
1893–1894 Reverend George Crider Heckman, D.D., LL.D.
1894–1895 Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D.
1895–1896 Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.
1896–1897 Reverend Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D., LL.D.
1897–1898 Reverend Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.
1898–1899 E. Winfield Scott Parthemore.[20]
1899–1900 Reverend Franklin Jacob Fogel Schantz, D.D.
1900–1901 Reverend Thomas Conrad Porter, D.D., LL.D.[21]
1901–1902 Professor Charles Francis Himes, Ph.D., LL.D.[22]
1901–1902 Reverend Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.
1902–1903 Reverend Joseph Augustus Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D.
1903–1904 Reverend John Summers Stahr, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.
1904–1905 Hon. James Addams Beaver, LL.D.
1905–1906 Hon. Gustav Adolph Endlich, LL.D.
1906–1907 Benjamin Matthias Nead, Esq.
1907–1908 Hon. John Wanamaker, LL.D.
1908–1909 Thomas C. Zimmerman, Litt.D.
1909–1910 General John Edwin Roller

[18] At the organization meeting held on April 15, 1891, Hon. George F. Baer, LL.D., President of the Philadelphia and Reading Railway Company, presided until the election of officers and a permanent organization was effected.

[19] At the organization meeting Dr. Egle, Librarian of the State of Pennsylvania, was elected president and at the annual meeting held on October 14, at Harrisburg, was reëlected.

[20] Advanced to the office of President to fill the vacancy caused by Judge Albright, who was elected but declined to serve as President.

[21] Elected October 26, 1900; died April 27, 1901.

[22] Elected Vice-President October 26, 1900, and appointed President July 19, 1901, by the Executive Committee.

1910–1911 Reverend Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., S.T.D.
1911–1912 Lieut. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards, Litt.D.
1912–1913 Benjamin Franklin Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D.
1913–1914 Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D.
1914–1915 Hon. William Uhler Hensel, LL.D., Litt.D.[23]
1914–1915 William Frederick Muhlenberg, M.D., LL.D.[24]
1914–1915 Hon. Harman Yerkes
1915–1916 Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Ph.D.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

1891–1892 Henry Augustus Muhlenberg, Esq.
Hon. Edwin Albright
1892–1893 Hon. Edwin Albright
Jacob H. Redsecker, Ph.M.
1893–1894 Hon. John B. Warfel
Captain Edward Henry Rauch
1894–1895 General John Peter Shindel Gobin
Reverend Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.
1895–1896 Reverend Franklin Jacob Fogel Schantz, D.D.
Right Reverend Joseph Mortimer Levering, D.D.
1896–1897 Hon. James Addams Beaver, LL.D.
Reverend Matthias Henry Richards, D.D.
1897–1898 Reverend Thomas Conrad Porter, D.D., LL.D.
Hon. John Bayard McPherson, LL.D.
1898–1899 Reverend Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.
E. Winfield Scott Parthemore[25]
1899–1900 Hon. Gustav Adolph Endlich, LL.D.
Hon. Christopher Heydrick, LL.D.

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[23] Elected November 13, 1914, died February 27, 1915.

[24] Elected Vice-President November 13, 1914; appointed President by the Executive Committee; died August 25, 1915.

[25] Advanced to the Office of President to fill the vacancy caused by Judge Albright declining to serve as President.

1900–1901	Reverend Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D.
	Professor Charles Francis Himes, Ph.D., LL.D.[26]
	Reverend Joseph Augustus Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D.[27]
1901–1902	Reverend Joseph Augustus Seiss, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D.
	John Peter Keller, D.D.S.
1902–1903	Hon. Irving P. Wanger
	Reverend Paul deSchweinitz, D.D.
1903–1904	Henry Clay Grittinger, Esq.
	Ira Christian Schock
1904–1905	Benjamin Matthias Nead, Esq.
	Ethan Allen Weaver, C.E., M.S.
1905–1906	Isaac Hiester
	Bishop Nathaniel Bertolet Grubb
1906–1907	George Taylor Ettinger, Ph.D.
	Professor John Eyerman, F.Z.S. (London), F.G.S.A., F.A.G.S., M.I.M.E.
1907–1908	James McCormick Lamberton, Esq.
	Carl Hess Niemeyer, C.E.
1908–1909	Hon. William Uhler Hensel, LL.D., Litt.D.
	Reverend Philip C. Croll, D.D.
1909–1910	Lieut. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards, Litt.D.
	John Franklin Mentzer, M.D.
1910–1911	Robert Cabeen Bair, Esq.
	Benjamin Franklin Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D.
1911–1912	Hon. Frank M. Trexler, LL.D.
	George Albert Gorgas, Ph.G.
1912–1913	Alfred Percival Smith, A.B. (Haverford and Harvard) LL.B.
	Reverend George Washington Sandt, D.D.
1913–1914	Edgar Dubs Shimer, Ph.D., LL.D.
	Hon. Christopher Heydrick, LL.D.[28]

[26] Appointed to the office of President July 19, 1901, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Reverend Thomas Conrad Porter, D.D., LL.D., who died April 27, 1901.

[27] Appointed July 19, 1901, to fill the vacancy caused by the election of Professor Himes to the office of President, caused by the death of Dr. Porter.

[28] Died October 9, 1914.

1914–1915	William Frederick Muhlenberg, M.D., LL.D.[29]
	Hon. Harman Yerkes[30]
	Albert K. Hostetter, Esq.[31]
1915–1916	Colonel Harry C. Trexler
	Frank Shalter Livingood, A.B. (Harvard)

SECRETARIES

Elected.		Retired.
Apr. 15, 1891	Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D. ...	Oct. 3, 1894
Oct. 3, 1894	Lieut. Henry M. M. Richards, Litt.D.	Oct. 29, 1909
Oct. 29, 1909	George Taylor Ettinger, Ph.D.	Oct. 15, 1915
Oct. 15, 1915	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D.	

TREASURERS

Elected.		Retired.
Apr. 15, 1891	Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D.	Oct. 17, 1913
Oct. 17, 1913	John Edgar Burnett Buckenham, AM., M.D.	

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE[32]

Elected.		Retired.
Apr. 15, 1891	Reverend J. Max Hark, D.D., *Chairman*	Oct. 3, 1894
Apr. 15, 1891	Lee Light Grumbine, Esq.	Oct. 15, 1896
Apr. 15, 1891	Henry Augustus Muhlenberg, Esq.	Oct. 12, 1892
Apr. 15, 1891	Captain Edward Henry Rauch	Oct. 3, 1894
Apr. 15, 1891	Hon. Jeremiah S. Hess	Oct. 11, 1893
Apr. 15, 1891	E. Winfield Scott Parthemore	Oct. 11, 1893
Apr. 15, 1891	Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D.	Oct. 3, 1894
Apr. 15, 1891	Clement Zwingli Weiser, D.D.	July 18, 1895
Apr. 15, 1891	Christian Philip Humrich	Apr. 23, 1895

[29] Advanced to the office of President on the death of Hon. William Uhler Hensel, LL.D., Litt.D. Died August 25, 1915.

[30] Advanced to the office of President on the death of William Frederick Muhlenberg, M.D., LL.D.

[31] Appointed Vice-President to fill the vacancy caused by the advancement of Judge Yerkes to the Presidency.

[32] The members of the first Executive Committee were elected on April 15, 1891, and reëlected on October 14, 1891.

Apr. 15, 1891	Hon. A. Hiestand Glatz	Oct. 12, 1892
Apr. 15, 1891	Frank Ried Diffenderffer, *ex-officio*	Oct. 3, 1894
Oct. 12, 1892	Reverend Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D.	Oct. 15, 1896
Oct. 12, 1892	Thomas C. Zimmerman	Oct. 22, 1897
Oct. 11, 1893	E. Winfield Scott Parthemore	Oct. 14, 1898
Oct. 11, 1893	Samuel Miller Sener	Apr. 14, 1896
Oct. 3, 1894	Reverend J. Max Hark, D.D.	Oct. 20, 1899
Oct. 3, 1894	Captain Edward Henry Rauch	Oct. 20, 1899
Oct. 3, 1894	Lieutenant Henry M. M. Richards, *ex-officio*	Oct. 29, 1909
Oct. 3, 1890	Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D., *ex-officio*[33]	Oct. 17, 1913
Jan. 9, 1895	Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.	Oct. 15, 1896
Oct. 16, 1895	Reverend Matthias Henry Richards, D.D.	Dec. 12, 1898
Oct. 16, 1895	Morton L. Montgomery, Esq.	Oct. 26, 1900
Oct. 16, 1895	Henry Edwin Slaymaker	Oct. 15, 1896
Apr. 14, 1896	Reverend Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D.	Oct. 22, 1897
Oct. 15, 1896	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D.	Oct. 26, 1900
Oct. 15, 1896	Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.	Oct. 25, 1901
Oct. 15, 1896	Lee Light Grumbine, Esq.	Oct. 25, 1901
Oct. 15, 1896	Rev. Franklin Jacob Fogel Schantz, D.D.	Oct. 22, 1897
Oct. 22, 1897	Rev. Theo. E. Schmauk, D.D., *Chairman*[34]	Oct. 14, 1898
Oct. 22, 1897	Rev. Franklin Jacob Fogel Schantz, D.D.	Oct. 20, 1899
Oct. 22, 1897	Thomas C. Zimmerman	Oct. 3, 1902
Oct. 14, 1898	Rev. Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D.	Oct. 22, 1903
Oct. 14, 1898	Rev. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D.	Oct. 22, 1903
Jan. 17, 1899	Reverend L. Kryder Evans, D.D.	Apr. 13, 1899
Oct. 20, 1897	Abraham Sebastian Schropp	Oct. 3, 1902
Oct. 20, 1899	Hon. Maurice C. Eby	Oct. 26, 1900
Oct. 20, 1899	John Franklin Mentzer, M.D.	Oct. 25, 1904
Oct. 26, 1900	Hon. Maurice C. Eby	Oct. 27, 1905

[33] By an amendment to the constitution, adopted October 3, 1894, the Treasurer is now a member, *ex-officio*, of the Executive Committee.

[34] In 1897, Dr. Schmauk, then President of the Society, was Acting Chairman of the Executive Committee from April 20th to January 18th, 1898, on which date he became Chairman of the Executive Committee and has held that office, by annual reëlection, to the present time.

Oct. 26, 1900	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D.	Oct. 27, 1905
Oct. 25, 1901	Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.	Oct. 27, 1905
Oct. 25, 1901	Lee Light Grumbine, Esq.	Aug. 18, 1904
Oct. 3, 1902	Thomas C. Zimmerman.....	Nov. 8, 1907
Oct. 3, 1902	Abraham Sebastian Schropp	Nov. 8, 1907
Oct. 22, 1903	Rev. Theodore Emmanuel Schmauk, D.D.	Nov. 6, 1908
Oct. 22, 1903	Rev. Nathan C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D. ..	Nov. 6, 1908
Oct. 25, 1904	Reverend L. Kryder Evans, D.D.	Oct. 29, 1909
Oct. 25, 1904	John Franklin Mentzer, M.D.	Oct. 29, 1909
Oct. 25, 1904	William Kopp Tritle Sahm, M.D.	Nov. 2, 1906
Oct. 27, 1905	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D.	Oct. 14, 1910
Oct. 27, 1905	Hon. Maurice C. Eby	Oct. 14, 1910
Oct. 27, 1905	Ethan Allan Weaver, M.S., C.E.	Nov. 2, 1906
Nov. 2, 1906	Naaman Henry Keyser, D.D.S.	Oct. 20, 1911
Nov. 2, 1906	William Kopp Tritle Sahm, M.D.	Oct. 20, 1911
Nov. 8, 1907	Thomas C. Zimmerman, Litt.D.	Nov. 6, 1908
Nov. 8, 1907	Abraham Sebastian Schropp	Oct. 4, 1912
Nov. 6, 1908	Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D.	Oct. 17, 1913
Nov. 6, 1908	Rev. N. C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.	Oct. 17, 1913
Nov. 6, 1908	Prof. George Taylor Ettinger, Ph.D.	Oct. 4, 1912
Oct. 29, 1909	Reverend L. Kryder Evans, D.D.	Nov. 13, 1914
Oct. 29, 1909	John Edgar Burnett Buckenham, A.M. ..	Nov. 13, 1914
Oct. 29, 1909	George Taylor Ettinger, Ph.D., *ex-officio* ..	Oct. 15, 1915
Oct. 14, 1910	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D.	Oct. 15, 1915
Oct. 14, 1910	Hon. Maurice C. Eby	Jan. 17, 1913
Oct. 14, 1910	Reverend John Baer Stoudt	Oct. 15, 1915
Oct. 20, 1911	Albert George Rau, Ph.D.	Oct. 4, 1912
Oct. 20, 1911	Reverend Ammon Stapleton, D.D.	Oct. 17, 1913
Oct. 20, 1911	Charles Rhoads Roberts	Nov. 13, 1914
Oct. 20, 1911	Reverend John Baer Stoudt	Oct. 15, 1915
Oct. 20, 1911	Naaman Henry Keyser, D.D.S.	Nov. 2, 1916
Oct. 20, 1911	William Kopp Tritle Sahm, M.D.	Nov. 2, 1916
Oct. 20, 1911	Benjamin Franklin Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D.	Nov. 2, 1916
Oct. 4, 1912	Abraham Sebastian Schropp	1917

Oct. 4, 1912	Albert George Rau, Ph.D.	1917
Oct. 4, 1912	Porter W. Shimer, Ph.D.	1917
Oct. 17, 1913	Rev. Theodore E. Schmauk, D.D., LL.D.	1918
Oct. 17, 1913	Rev. N. C. Schaeffer, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.	1918
Oct. 17, 1913	Ulysses Sidney Koons, LL.B.	1918
Oct. 17, 1913	John Edgar Burnett Buckenham, A.M., M.D., *ex-officio*[33]	
Nov. 13, 1914	Julius F. Sachse, Litt.D.	1919
Nov. 13, 1914	Rev. L. Kryder Evans, D.D.	1919
Nov. 13, 1914	Charles Rhoads Roberts	1919
Oct. 15, 1915	George A. Gorgas, Ph.G.	1920
Oct. 15, 1915	Rev. John Baer Stoudt	1920
Oct. 15, 1915	Harry Winslow Fegley	1920
Oct. 15, 1915	Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D., *ex-officio*	



MEMBERS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY
OCTOBER 15, 1915

Honorary

Elected

Rosengarten, Joseph G., LL.D. ..... April 12, 1898
1704 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Life

Buckenham, John Edgar Burnett, A.M., M.D. ..... October 25, 1900
Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.

Capp, Seth Bunker ..... January 17, 1913
P. O. Box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa.

Gorgas, William Luther ..... April 13, 1892
Harrisburg, Pa.

Krick, Reverend Thomas Henry ..... January 21, 1903
Coplay, Lehigh Co., Pa.

Schmauk, Reverend Theodore Emanuel, D.D., LL.D. ..... April 15, 1891
Lebanon, Pa.

deSchweinitz, Reverend Paul, D.D. ..... April 15, 1891
Bethlehem, Pa.

Smith, Alfred Percival ..... July 21, 1896
6391 Overbrook Avenue, Overbrook, Pa.

Weaver, Ethan Allen, C.E., M.Sc. ..... January 9, 1895
251 Harvey Street, Germantown, Pa.

Regular

Achey, Frederick Augustus ..... January 15, 1897
Lancaster, Pa.

Acker, A. Lincoln ..... April 28, 1903
1843 Venango Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Adams, Joseph Weaver ..... January 17, 1899
South Bethlehem, Pa.

Amer, William M. ..... July 9, 1891
Lititz, Pa.

Anewalt, Lewis Lincoln ..... November 1, 1906
814 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pa.

Anspach, Paul B. ..... January 10, 1901
61 North Fourth Street, Easton, Pa.

Appel, William Nevin .....January 18, 1898
33 North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Arndt, John Stover .....April 20, 1897
Ardmore, Pa.
Atlee, John .....June 24, 1915
Parkton, Md.
Bachert, Augustus Ellsworth, C.E., M.E. .....October 28, 1909
1260 Lincoln Avenue, Tyrone, Pa.
Bachman, John A. .....October 25, 1900
Phillipsburg, New Jersey.
Baer, Samuel Adams, Ph.D. .....April 15, 1891
Frostburg, Md.
Bair, Robert Cabeen .....October 26, 1905
30 South Beaver Street, York, Pa.
Bartholomew, Reverend Allen R., D.D. .....April 20, 1897
4527 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Basehore, Samuel E. .....October 19, 1911
Mechanicsburg, Pa.
Bausman, John Watts Baer .....April 15, 1891
Lancaster, Pa.
Beckel, Clarence E. .....May 1, 1912
112 Market Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Bechtel, John Clemmer .....October 26, 1905
103 West Nippon Street, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bechtel, Joseph B. .....November 1, 1906
4912 Knox Street, Germantown, Pa.
Behm, John William .....July 19, 1904
420 Reading Terminal, Philadelphia, Pa.
Benze, Reverend C. Theodore, D.D. .....November 1, 1906
Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bernd, Reverend Franklin K. .....October 21, 1907
Kutztown, Pa.
Bertolet, Benjamin .....October 2, 1902
2112 Columbia Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bertolet, Ira D. .....October 24, 1904
3546 North Eighteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bieber, Reverend Milton James .....January 17, 1899
Mount Joy, Pa.
Bittenger, Hon. John Wierman.....October 11, 1893
York, Pa.
Bittner, Frank D. .....January 17, 1899
1101 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pa.

Blanck, Joseph E., M.D. ..... April 30, 1915
P. O. box 28, Green Lane, Pa.

Bobb, Henry, M.D. ..... November 5, 1908
East Greenville, Pa.

Body, Frederick Rapp ..... October 3, 1912
First Avenue and Chestnut Street, Lebanon, Pa.

Borhek, Morris Augustus ..... October 26, 1905
211 North Main Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Borneman, Henry Stauffer ..... January 15, 1897
801 Franklin Bank Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bower, John Lincoln, M.D. ..... January 17, 1899
Broad Street Station, Philadelphia, Pa.

Boyer, Reverend Charles Clinton, Ph.D. ..... January 9, 1895
Kutztown, Pa.

Brandt, Jacob Luther ..... April 24, 1906
Trenton, Missouri.

Brecht, Prof. Samuel K. ..... October 19, 1911
205 East McKinley Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.

Brendlinger, Peter Franklin, C.E. ..... October 2, 1902
1009 Commercial Trust Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Bricker, Luther Jackson ..... October 26, 1905
1181 Hague Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.

Brillhart, Jacob Herbst ..... October 28, 1909
1433 North Beckley Avenue, Station A, Dallas, Texas.

Brodhead, Albert ..... January 16, 1896
131 Centre Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Brower, William, M.D. ..... January 11, 1893
Spring City, Pa.

Brownback, Garrett Elwood ..... October 14, 1915
Linfield, Pa.

Brumbaugh, Gaius Marcus, M.S., M.D. ..... April 25, 1907
908 Massachusetts Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Brumbaugh, Hon. Martin Grove, Ph.D., LL.D. ..... October 21, 1897
254 West Walnut Lane, Germantown, Pa.

Bruner, Alfred Cookman ..... October 24, 1901
Columbia, Pa.

Bruner, Owen M. ..... June 26, 1912
1508 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.

Brunner, Franklin Henry ..... January 16, 1896
108 West Broad Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Buckenham, John Edgar Burnett, A.M., M.D., Life Member ..... October 25, 1900
Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia, Pa.

Burgess, Reverend Ellis Beaver.....November 7, 1907
501 Vine Street, Connellsville, Pa.
Burgin, George Horace, M.D. .....October 24, 1901
63 West Chelten Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
Burkholder, Albert North .....October 26, 1905
1340 Mineral Spring Road, Reading, Pa.
Butterwick, Reverend Robert Reuben .....October 24, 1901
Mountville, Pa.
Capp, Seth Bunker, Life Member ..... January 17, 1913
P. O. box 2054, Philadelphia, Pa.
Closson, James Harwood, M.D. .....October 24, 1904
53 West Chelten Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
Conrad, Hon. Henry C., LL.D. .....October 17, 1913
Georgetown, Delaware.
Conyngham, Redmond .....April 30, 1915
134 Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Cooper, Reverend Charles Jacob, D.D. .....July 13, 1898
28 South Thirteenth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Croll, Edward Everett .....October 19, 1911
5403 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Croll, Reverend Philip C., D.D. .....October 3, 1894
Beardstown, Illinois.
Croll, Sylvester Edward .....July 18, 1895
40 Fifteenth Street, Buffalo, New York.
Crone, Hon. Frank L. .....April 30, 1915
Manila, P. I.
Dannehower, William F. .....April 16, 1891
828 West Marshall Street, Norristown, Pa.
Dapp, Reverend Charles Frederick, Ph.D. .....October 20, 1914
232 Yost Avenue, Spring City, Pa.
Deatrick, Reverend William Wilberforce, Sc.D. .....January 9, 1895
Kutztown, Pa.
Dechert, Hon. Henry Martyn .....November 7, 1907
3930 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Deisher, Henry K. .....January 18, 1898
Kutztown Pa.
Dempwolf, J. A. .....October 13, 1910
York, Pa.
Derr, Andrew Fein .....July 18, 1892
Miners Bank Building, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
Detwiler, Thomas Craig, M.D. .....July 17, 1906
346 West Chestnut Street, Lancaster, Pa.

Dickenshied, Eugene Henry, M.D. .....July 17, 1906
111 North Eighth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Diefenderfer, Walter Benneville, M.D. .....April 14, 1896
Tyrone, Pa.
Dietrich, William Joseph .....November 7, 1907
Allentown, Pa.
Diffenderfer, Reverend George Michael .....July 20, 1900
229 West Pomfret Street, Carlisle, Pa.
Diffenderffer, Frank Ried, Litt.D.....Founder
542 North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Dubbs, Henry Alfred .....January 18, 1898
716 Foster Building, Denver, Colorado.
Dumn, Harry Jacob .....October 26, 1905
136 North Eleventh Street, Reading, Pa.
Edelman, William .....October 28, 1909
18 Charlotte Street, Pottstown, Pa.
Edelman, Reverend Willis J. .....October 14, 1915
342 North Tenth Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Eggert, Henry Benjamin .....October 28, 1909
151 Church Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Emhardt, William Henry .....November 5, 1908
5521 Germantown Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
Endlich, Hon. Gustav Adolph, LL.D. .....January 12, 1894
1537 Mineral Spring Road, Reading, Pa.
Eshelman, Edgar Moyer .....July 14, 1903
Takoma Park, D. C.
Ettinger, George Taylor, Ph.D. .....October 15, 1896
Allentown, Pa.
Evans, Reverend L. Kryder, D.D. .....January 18, 1898
221 King Street, Pottstown, Pa.
Everhart, Villias H. .....October 17, 1913
203 Monroe Street, Easton, Pa.
Fackenthal, B. F., Jr., Sc.D. .....July 13, 1898
Riegelsville, Pa.
Falkenstein, Reverend George N. .....October 21, 1907
Elizabethtown, Lancaster Co., Pa.
Fegley, Harry Winslow .....July 15, 1902
952 North Fifth Street, Reading, Pa.
Fegley, William .....January 18, 1898
921 North Third Street, Reading, Pa.
Fehr, Oliver Lewis .....October 29, 1900
19 South Fifth Street, Easton, Pa.

Fritsch, D.D., M.D. .....October 20, 1911
Macungie, Pa.
Flory, Prof. John S. .....June 29, 1911
Bridgewater, Va.
Fogel, Edwin Miller, Ph.D. .....January 16, 1896
College Hall, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Forney, Joseph Gochnawer, ...April 13, 1899
Lancaster, Pa.
Fortenbaugh, Abraham .....October 19, 1911
1713 North Second Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Foster, William Davis, M.D. .....April 16, 1891
522 Altman Building, Kansas City, Mo.
Fretz, Henry Augustus .....October 21, 1903
Doylestown, Pa.
Fretz, John Edgar, M.D. .....January 17, 1899
Easton, Pa.
Fretz John Stover .....October 24, 1901
Doylestown, Pa.
Fretz, Thomas J. .....November 11, 1906
525 Chew Street, Allentown, Pa.
Fry, Reverend Jacob, D.D., LL.D. .....January 9, 1895
Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Funk, Hon. Henry S. .....October 13, 1910
Springtown, Pa.
Gerdsen, Reverend Herman Augustus, D.D. .....November 5, 1908
36 West Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Glander, Herman C. .....May 6, 1908
West Alexandria, Ohio.
Gleim, John Stambaugh .....January 19, 1909
31 North Shippen Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Glessner, James Graham .....January 12, 1894
York, Pa.
Gobrecht, Neander Augustus .....January 15, 1902
309 East Grant Avenue, Altoona, Pa.
Gorgas, George Albert, Ph.G. .....April 13, 1892
Harrisburg, Pa.
Gorgas, William Luther, Life Member .....April 13, 1892
Harrisburg, Pa.
Gotwald, Reverend Frederick Gebhart .....January 21, 1903
York, Pa.
Graff, William Knapp .....July 15, 1902
1775 North Avenue, Bridgeport, Conn.

Green, Edgar Moore, M.D. ..... October 21, 1897
222 Spring Garden Street, Easton, Pa.

Grimm, Daniel ..... April 14, 1909
1311 Buffalo Street, Franklin, Pa.

Grittinger, Henry Clay, Esq. ..... April 12, 1899
Lebanon, Pa.

Grossart, Lewis J. H. ..... April 17, 1913
Allentown, Pa.

Grosscup, Hon. Peter Stenger ..... January 27, 1910
Congress Hall, Chicago, Illinois.

Grubb, Reverend Nathaniel Bertolet ..... October 2, 1902
715 Berks Street, Philadelphia Pa.

Gruber, Reverend L. Franklin ..... October 28, 1909
1213 Hague Avenue, St. Paul, Minn.

Gruber, Michael Alvin ..... May 6, 1908
932 O Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

Guthrie, Harry Jones ..... October 17, 1913
612 Harrison Street, Wilmington, Delaware.

Haak, Isaac Benjamin ..... April 19, 1900
Myerstown, Pa.

Haldeman, Horace L. ..... July 18, 1895
Marietta, Lancaster Co., Pa.

Harper, Benjamin Franklin ..... November 5, 1908
234 East Penn Street, Germantown, Pa.

Hartman, Edwin M., A.M. ..... April 16, 1901
Franklin and Marshall Academy, Lancaster, Pa.

Hassler, Hon. Aaron Bilyeu ..... November 1, 1906
50 East Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.

Hauser, James J. ..... November 1, 1906
Macungie, Pa.

Hayden, Reverend Horace Edwin ..... January 11, 1893
32 Mallery Place, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.

Heckman, Frederic Creider ..... January 9, 1895
P. O. Box 16, Wernersville, Pa.

Heckman, Prof. Samuel B., Ph.D. ..... October 21, 1903
College of the City of New York, New York City.

Heilman, Samuel Phillips, M.D. ..... April 15, 1891
Hathaway Park, Lebanon, Pa.

Heilman, U. Henry ..... April 16, 1901
920 Walnut Street, Lebanon, Pa.

Heller, Llewellyn J. ..... October 28, 1909
220 East Broad Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Heller, William Jacob .....January 18, 1898
Easton, Pa.
Heller, William John .....July 15, 1908
156 South New Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Herbst, George Edwin M., M.D. .....October 26, 1905
Oley, Berks Co., Pa.
Hershey, Andrew Hiestand .....January 11, 1893
447 West Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Hess, Hon. Abraham .....April 15, 1891
Lebanon, Pa.
Hess, Hon. Jeremiah S. .....Founder
Hellertown, Pa.
Hess, Reverend Warren Carpenter .....October 14, 1915
130 East Cumberland Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Hiester, Isaac .....January 9, 1895
530 Washington Street, Reading, Pa.
Hilliard, Clinton .....October 25, 1900
214 North Third Street, Easton, Pa.
Himes, Prof. Charles Francis, Ph.D., LL.D. .....January 15, 1897
Carlisle, Pa.
Himmelwright, Howard .....April, 20, 1911
1143 Lincoln Avenue, Tyrone, Pa.
Hinke, Reverend William John, Ph.D., D.D., Associate Member.....July 13, 1899
156 North Street, Auburn, New York.
Hodge, Hugh Bayard .....October 17, 1913
420 West Walnut Lane, Germantown, Pa.
Hoffman, Charles Griffith .....November 1, 1906
222 E Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Holstein, Otto .....October 19, 1911
P. O. box 1216, San Antonio, Texas.
Horn, Frank Melchior .....April 12, 1898
Catasauqua, Pa.
Hostetter, Albert Keller .....January 18, 1898
715 North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Hostetter, Harry B. .....January 29, 1915
715 North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Hottenstein, Hon. Marcus S. .....June 24, 1915
Department of Justice, Washington, D. C.
Houck, Hon.. Henry .....April 13, 1892
Lebanon, Pa.
Huntsinger, Emanuel M. .....October 26, 1905
Hegins, Schuylkill Co., Pa.

Illick, Prof. Joseph S. .....April 17, 1913
Mont Alto, Pa.
Jacobs, Reverend Henry Eyster, D.D., LL.D., S.T.D. .....October 15, 1896
Lutheran Theological Seminary, Mt. Airy, Philadelphia, Pa.
Jacobs, Michael William .....January 18, 1898
P. O. box 37, Harrisburg, Pa.
Johnson, Elmer Ellsworth Schultz .....January 10, 1901
Neuerweg 19, Wolfenbüttel, Germany.
Jones, George Miller .....January 18, 1898
52 North Fourth Street, Reading, Pa.
Keck, Winfield Scott .....January 16, 1896
129 South Second Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa.
Keim George deBenneville .....May 6, 1908
Edgewater Park, New Jersey.
Keiser, Henry P. .....October 14, 1915
1530 Mineral Spring Road, Reading, Pa.
Keiter, Reverend William D. C., D.D. .....October 28, 1909
414 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pa.
Kelker, Luther R. .....October 19, 1899
128 Walnut Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Keller, Reverend Eli, D.D. .....January 9, 1895
1312 Chew Street, Allentown, Pa.
Keller, William Huestis .....July 19, 1900
Lancaster, Pa.
Kepner, W. Clinton .....October 24, 1901
Orwigsburg, Pa.
Keppelman, John A. .....October 13, 1910
540 Court Street, Reading, Pa.
Kern, Reverend Robert M. .....October 3, 1912
Allentown, Pa.
Keyser, Naaman Henry, D.D.S. .....April 10, 1902
33 High Street, Germantown, Pa.
Klahr, Lewis W. .....April 11, 1904
644 Drexel Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Klick, Reverend Ira Werner .....October 21, 1903
Marietta, Pa.
Klein, H. M. J., Ph.D. .....October 19, 1911
Franklin & Marshall College, Lancaster, Pa.
Klein, Hon. Theodore Berghaus .....January 17, 1899
264 Boas Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Klein, Warren Frantz, M.D. .....October 21, 1903
801 Walnut Street, Lebanon, Pa.

Kline, Hon. Charles Howard .....November 7, 1907
1002 Frick Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Kline, Clarence Winfield .....January 9, 1895
141 West Diamond Avenue, Hazleton, Pa.

Kline, Reverend Harry Charles .....October 21, 1903
27 South High Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Kline, James Nourse .....January 19, 1904
519 West Fourth Street, Williamsport, Pa.

Kline, Reverend John Jacob, Ph.D. .....July 20, 1900
Pottstown, Pa.

Kline, Reverend William H. .....October 13, 1910
West Hazleton, Pa.

Klopp, Eli Leinbach, M.D. .....January 18, 1898
Eighth Street, and Oak Lane, Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

Knappenberger, Reverend J. William, A.M. .....January 16, 1902
Niantic, Conn.

Knauss, James Owen .....January 18, 1906
Department of Public Instruction, Harrisburg, Pa.

Knipe, Irvin P. .....April 16, 1901
50 East Chestnut Street, Norristown, Pa.

Kolb, Reuben .....October 25, 1900
Easton, Pa.

Koons, Ulysses Sidney, LL.B. .....July 13, 1899
4707 Cedar Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Kotz, Adam L., M.D. .....October 25, 1900
32 South Fourth Street, Easton, Pa.

Krause, Edward John .....October 21, 1903
67 Lehigh Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa.

Krause, John Samuel .....October 28, 1909
Bethlehem, Pa.

Kreider, Reverend Charles Daniel .....April 13, 1899
Lititz, Pa.

Krick, Reverend Thomas Henry, Life Member .....January 21, 1903
Coplay, Pa.

Kriebel, Howard Wiegner .....July 20, 1894
Lititz, Pa.

Kriebel, Reverend Oscar Schultz, D.D. .....January 16, 1896
Pennsburg, Pa.

Krout, Jacob Henry .....July 19, 1904
Glenolden, Pa.

Kuebler, Harry J. .....June 27, 1910
Easton, Pa.

Kuhns, John ..... April 30, 1915
Haverford, Pa.
Kuhns, Prof. Levi Oscar ..... July 18, 1892
Middletown, Conn.
Lambert, Reverend James Franklin ..... April 25, 1907
Catasauqua, Pa.
Lambert, Prof. Marcus Bachman ..... April 16, 1901
1816 Fairmont Street, Allentown, Pa.
Landes, Gared C. ..... April 17, 1913
2026 Wallace Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Landis, Hon. Charles Israel ..... July 14, 1903
140 North Duke Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Landis, David Bachman ..... November 1, 1906
38 East Chestnut Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Landis, Harrison ..... October 28, 1900
Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.
Landis, James Miller ..... July 18, 1899
Room 509, 1001 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Laubach, George Abraham ..... October 25, 1900
Easton, Pa.
Laubach, John R. ..... October 17, 1913
341 South Broad Street, Nazareth, Pa.
Leibensperger, Reverend Ambrose William ..... April 19, 1899
Lebanon, Pa.
Leinbach, Reverend Paul Seibert, D.D. ..... October 20, 1911
Easton, Pa.
Leinbach, Reverend Thomas Hoch ..... July 13, 1899
136 Clymer Street, Reading, Pa.
Lemberger, Joseph Lyon ..... January 11, 1893
Lebanon, Pa.
Leopold, Reverend Elmer O. ..... October 11, 1911
Allentown, Pa.
Lesher, Pierce ..... July 13, 1899
226 West Chestnut Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Lessig, Othniel Bliem ..... April 28, 1903
Pottstown, Pa.
Light, Arville Gelbach ..... October 24, 1904
425 North Eighth Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Light, Simon P. ..... January 11, 1893
Lebanon, Pa.
Lightfoot, Thomas Montgomery, Ph.D. ..... January 17, 1905
5935 Greene Street, Germantown, Pa.

Livingood, Frank Shalter .....January 9, 1895
536 Court Street, Reading, Pa.
McClintock, Andrew Hamilton .....April 20, 1897
34 South River Street, Wilkes-Barré, Pa.
McMinn, Joseph Henderson .....October 13, 1910
425 Locust Street, Williamsport, Pa.
March, Matthias Levengood .....October 25, 1900
Bridgeport, Montgomery Co., Pa.
Martin, George Castor .....May 1, 1912
"Allardyce," Asbury Park, New Jersey.
Mechling, Benjamin Franklin .....October 15, 1896
Seventh & Glenwood Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Mechling, Benjamin Schreiber .....October 15, 1896
Riverton, New Jersey.
Mechling, William Harrison .....October 15, 1896
Wingohocking Heights, Germantown, Pa.
Meily, George E. .....October 19, 1911
38 North Ninth Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Mentzer, John Franklin, M.D. .....October 11, 1893
Ephrata, Pa.
Metzler, Christian Eby .....April 21, 1904
67 Commercial Wharf, Boston, Mass.
Meyers, Hon. Benjamin Franklin .....April 25, 1891
Harrisburg, Pa.
Miller, David A. .....April 28, 1903
218 North Fifth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Miller, David Willoughby .....November 5, 1908
617 West Race Street, Pottsville, Pa.
Miller, E. Augustus .....July 20, 1900
1604 North Seventeenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Miller, James Alfred .....July 20, 1900
New Tripoli, Lehigh Co., Pa.
Miller, J. Henry .....October 21, 1903
Lebanon, Pa.
Miller, Lemon E. .....July 13, 1899
Lincoln, Lancaster Co., Pa.
Minnich, Reverend Michael Reed .....January 9, 1895
4935 Larchwood Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.
Monnette, Orra Eugene .....January 17, 1913
308 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California.
More, Reverend Wilson Franklin, D.D. .....October 24, 1901
Bethany Orphans Home, Womelsdorf, Pa.

Mull, Prof. George Fulmer, Litt.D. .....April 15, 1891
Lancaster, Pa.
Mylin, Samuel M. .....July 13, 1899
Herrville, Lancaster Co., Pa.
Nead, Benjamin Frank .....October 19, 1911
254 Boas Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Nead, Benjamin Matthias .....April 15, 1891
Harrisburg, Pa.
Nead, Daniel Wunderlich, M.D. .....April 15, 1891
P. O. Box 468, Reading, Pa.
Neifert, William Washington .....July 17, 1906
United States Weather Bureau, Hartford, Conn.
Niemeyer, Carl Hess, C.E. .....October 24, 1901
505 South Negley Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Ohl, Reverend Jeremiah Franklin, Mus.D. .....October 24, 1901
826 South St. Bernard Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Opp, Charles Benjamin .....January 16, 1896
1522 Arch Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Orth, Henry C. .....January 11, 1893
223 State Street, Harrisburg, Pa.
Oswald, Amandus .....January 21, 1903
Centre and Front Streets, Freeland, Pa.
Parsons, Hon. John Fribley .....October 24, 1901
Emporium, Pa.
Pastorius, Daniel Berkley .....November 5, 1908
5603 Greene Street, Germantown, Pa.
Pastorius, Samuel Nice .....October 17, 1913
6305 Germantown Avenue, Germantown, Pa.
Pennypacker, Hon. Samuel Whitaker, LL.D. .....April 15, 1891
Pennypacker's Mills, Pa.
Plitt, Prof. George Lewis .....January 19, 1904
921 Farragut Terrace, Philadelphia, Pa.
Rath, Reverend Myron O. .....January 16, 1896
211 North Sixth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Rau, Prof. Albert George, Ph.D. .....November 1, 1906
63 Broad Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Reed, Willoughby H., M.D. .....October 15, 1896
Jeffersonville, Montgomery Co., Pa.
Reichard, Prof. Harry Hess .....October 13, 1910
16 North Sovereign Avenue, Atlantic City, New Jersey.
Reider, W. A. Herbert .....October 14, 1915
340 Chestnut Street, Reading, Pa.

Reinhard, Osman Franklin .....October 28, 1909
515 North Linden Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Reist, Henry Gerber, M.E. .....October 2, 1902
110 Avon Road, Schenectady, New York.

Reninger, Edward Henry .....January 17, 1899
41 South Fifth Street, Allentown, Pa.

Renninger, Reverend Josiah S. .....October 19, 1911
R. F. D. No. 3, Allentown, Pa.

Richards, Reverend H. Branson .....January 18, 1898
Lebanon, Pa.

Richards, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, Litt.D. (late Lieut. U. S. N.)....July 8, 1891
Lebanon, Pa.

Richardson, Edgar Snyder .....October 14, 1915
Reading, Pa.

Richardson, William H. .....July 21, 1896
250 Union Street, Jersey City, New Jersey.

Rick, James .....January 9, 1895
632 Centre Avenue, Reading, Pa.

Riegel, William George .....October 28, 1909
Bethlehem, Pa.

Rhoads, Thomas Jefferson Boyer, M.D. .....January 9, 1895
Boyertown, Pa.

Ritter, Francis O., M.D. .....January 16, 1900
1430 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.

Roberts, Charles Rhoads .....July 15, 1902
520 North Sixth Street, Allentown, Pa.

Rogers, George Hippee .....April 20, 1897
Lincoln, Nebraska.

Rohr, George .....January 19, 1909
154 South Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa.

Rohrer, Samuel Ashmead .....October 24, 1904
"Wallingford," Easton, Md.

Roller, General John Edwin .....January 16, 1896
Harrisonburg, Va.

Rosenberger, Randle C., M.D. .....September 15, 1908
2330 North Thirteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rosenberger, Seward M. .....November 7, 1907
4451 North Twentieth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Ross, George .....May 6, 1908
Doylestown, Pa.

Rothermel, Abraham Heckman .....January 9, 1895
538 Court Street, Reading, Pa.

Rothermel, Prof. John Jacob .....January 18, 1898
1450 Girard Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Rothtrock, Reverend Jacob Jonathan .....October 24, 1904
Lansdale, Pa.
Ruebush, Joseph K. .....October 3, 1912
Dayton, Virginia.
Rupp, Henry Wilson .....October 10, 1895
1220 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sachse, Julius Friedrich, Litt.D. .....Founder
4428 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sahm, William Kopp Tritle, M.D. .....October 15, 1896
124 Union Station, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Sandt, Reverend Charles Milton .....October 10, 1901
3418 North Nineteenth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sandt, Reverend George Washington, D.D. .....January 18, 1898
1904 Tioga Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Sauber, Charles Alvin .....January 29, 1915
221 South Queen Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Schaadt, Hon. James L. .....January 9, 1895
536 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
Schadt, Thomas A. J. .....January 21, 1903
Cementon, Pa.
Schaeffer, D. Nicholas .....January 9, 1895
1532 Mineral Spring Road, Reading, Pa.
Schaeffer, Reverend Nathan C., Ph.D., D.D., LL.D. .....July 20, 1894
Lancaster, Pa.
Scheffer, Reverend John Amos .....November 1, 1906
245 North Sixth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Scheidy, Reverend George M. .....January 27, 1910
Allentown, Pa.
Schmauk, Reverend Theodore Emanuel, D.D., LL.D., Life Member .....Founder
Lebanon, Pa.
Schmidt, Reverend Ambrose Matthias .....October 2, 1902
Bellefonte, Pa.
Schmoyer, Reverend Melville Benjamin Charles .....July 9, 1901
Macungie, Pa.
Schneder, Reverend Charles Bowman, D.D. .....April 16, 1901
129 North Eighth Street, Shamokin, Pa.
Schnerer, Franklin Elser .....October 24, 1904
R. F. D. No. 5, Lititz, Pa.
Schnure, Howard Davis .....October 19, 1899
Selinsgrove, Pa.

Schnure, William M. .....October 17, 1913
Selinsgrove, Pa.

Schoch, Ira Christian .....January 18, 1898
Selinsgrove, Pa.

Scholl, Charles R., D.D.S. .....October 26, 1905
Second National Bank Building, Reading, Pa.

Schropp, Abraham Sebastian .....July 20, 1894
107 East Market Street, Bethlehem, Pa.

Schwab, Prof. John Christopher, Ph.D., LL.D. .....November 7, 1907
New Haven, Conn.

Schwartz, John Loeser ..... October 25, 1900
Hillcrest, Port Hope, Ontario, Canada.

Schwartz, Leon David .....October 20, 1914
Siegfrieds, Pa.

deSchweinitz, Reverend Paul, D.D., Life Member .....Founder
Bethlehem, Pa.

Seibert, William A., M.D. .....July 13, 1899
43 North Fourth Street, Easton, Pa.

Seiler, Felix G. .....July 14, 1903
30 East Lincoln Street, Shamokin, Pa.

Seip, Asher .....October 25, 1900
1309 Washington Street, Easton, Pa.

Seltzer, A. Frank, Esq. .....July 18, 1892
Lebanon, Pa.

Shea, Joseph Bernard .....July 9, 1901
c/o Joseph Horne Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Sheip, Henry H. .....November 7, 1907
Oak Lane, Philadelphia, Pa.

Shenk, Christian .....April 15, 1891
Fourth and Cumberland Streets, Lebanon, Pa.

Shenk, Harry Jacob .....October 21, 1903
314 Cumberland Street, Lebanon, Pa.

Shenk, Jacob M. .....January 11, 1893
Lebanon, Pa.

Sherk, Charles Penrose .....November 7, 1907
602 Cumberland Street, Lebanon, Pa.

Shick, Robert Porter .....April 20, 1897
320 South Forty-third Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

Shimer, Edgar Dubs, Ph.D., LL.D. .....October 15, 1896
104 Union Avenue, Jamaica, New York.

Shimer, Joseph Rosenbery .....October 15, 1896
Phillipsburg, New Jersey.

Shimer, Prof. Porter William, E.M., Ph.D. .....October 15, 1896
Easton, Pa.
Shindel, William L., M.D. .....April 24, 1906
28 North Front Street, Sunbury, Pa.
Shoemaker, Samuel .....June 26, 1912
Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Shull, John Dolen, M.D. .....October 25, 1900
Union Station, Baltimore, Md.
Siegrist, Henry Warren .....July 15, 1897
842 Walnut Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Small, Samuel, Jr. .....January 18, 1898
York, Pa.
Smith, Alfred Percival, Life Member .....July 21, 1896
6391 Overbrook Avenue, Overbrook, Pa.
Smith, Edgar Fahs, Ph.D., Sc.D., LL.D. .....October 17, 1913
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.
Smoll, Reverend Edwin Harrison .....January 21, 1903
Schuylkill Haven, Pa.
Snyder, Henry Steinman .....October 19, 1899
150 Church Street, Bethlehem, Pa.
Snyder, Reverend Howard Elias .....January 29, 1915
104 Wurts Street, Kingston, New York.
Spangler, Adam Franklin .....October 19, 1899
Ephrata, Pa.
Spangler, Reverend Henry Thomas, D.D. .....October 11, 1893
Collegeville, Pa.
Sperry, Henry Muhlenberg .....October 24, 1904
P. O. box 1052, Rochester, New York.
Stahr, Reverend John Summers, D.D., LL.D. .....Founder
Lancaster, Pa.
Stapleton, Reverend Ammon, M.S., D.D. .....October 19, 1899
1429 Erie Avenue, Williamsport, Pa.
Stein Reverend James Rauch .....January 21, 1903
Bethlehem, Pa.
Stein, Reverend Samuel H. .....January 26, 1911
119 South Duke Street, York, Pa.
Steinman, Andrew Jackson .....April 12, 1898
301 East Orange Street, Lancaster, Pa.
Steinman, George .....April 15, 1891
Lancaster, Pa.
Steinmetz, Hiram Erb, A.M. .....July 13, 1899
Zion Home, Lititz, Pa.

Stem, Reverend George P. .....October 3, 1912
Siegfrieds, Pa.
Stevens, Hon. William Kerper .....October 26, 1905
1220 Perkiomen Avenue, Reading, Pa.
Stickler, Franklin Adam .....October 2, 1902
709 Haws Avenue, Norristown, Pa.
Stocker, Reverend Harry C. .....October 3, 1912
456 Elm Street, South Bethlehem, Pa.
Stoever, William Caspar, Esq. .....January 18, 1898
727 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stonecipher, Reverend John Franklin, D.D. .....October 25, 1900
25 North Second Street, Easton, Pa.
Stopp, Reverend S. A. Bridges .....June 28, 1914
Allentown, Pa.
Stoudt, Reverend John Baer .....July 19, 1905
Northampton, Pa.
Stout, John Kennedy .....July 15, 1897
"The Garland," Washington, D. C.
Strassburger, Perry B. .....January 8, 1914
New Stock Exchange Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Summers, William .....July 20, 1900
Conshohocken, Pa.
Trexler, Edwin G. .....October 28, 1909
927 Hamilton Street, Allentown, Pa.
Trexler, Hon. Frank M., LL.D. .....November 1, 1906
1115 Walnut Street, Allentown, Pa.
Trexler, Col. Harry C. .....January 16, 1896
Allentown, Pa.
Tyson, James, M.D., LL.D. .....October 17, 1913
1506 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Ulrich, Henry Heilman .....October 17, 1913
152 North Eighth Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Umbenhen, Reverend J. H., Ph.D. .....October 19, 1899
Pottsville, Pa.
Unger, Prof. Maurice Simon Henry .....November 1, 1906
216 West Seventy-second Street, New York City.
Updegrove, Jacob Davidheiser, M.D. .....January 16, 1900
Monroe & Wagner Streets, Easton, Pa.
Vanderslice, Charles Mussina .....November 1, 1906
602 South Main Street, Phoenixville, Pa.
Wagner, Jacob Alvin .....January 17, 1913
Des Moines, Iowa.

Walter, Frank K. .....January 10, 1901
New York State Library, Albany, New York.
Wanamaker, Hon. John .....January 10, 1901
Philadelphia, Pa.
Wanger, George F. P., C.E. .....January 17, 1899
Pottstown, Pa.
Wanger, Hon. Irving P. .....April 16, 1901
827 West Main Street, Norristown, Pa.
Waring, Reverend Luther Hess .....January 8, 1914
1503 Thirtieth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Wayland, Prof. John Walter .....January 17, 1907
Harrisonburg, Va.
Weaver, Ethan Allen, C.E., M.S., Life Member .....January 9, 1895
251 West Harvey Street, Germantown, Pa.
Weber, Reverend Adam Monroe .....January 18, 1898
Boyertown, Pa.
Weidman, Grant, Esq. .....October 21, 1903
Lebanon, Pa.
Weidman, Martin L. .....July 13, 1899
Ephrata, Pa.
Weiser, George U. .....October 20, 1911
York, Pa.
Weller, Reverend Harvey A., D.D. .....April 19, 1900
Orwigsburg, Pa.
Weirick, Charles Donges .....October 23, 1903
517 Chestnut Street, Lebanon, Pa.
Wenner, Thomas P. .....November 1, 1906
540 North Sixth Street, Allentown, Pa.
Wenrich, Reuben David, M.D. .....October 21, 1903
Wernersville, Pa.
Wentz, Prof. Abdel Ross, Ph.D. .....June 4, 1913
Gettysburg, Pa.
Wetzel, John Wise .....July 15, 1902
20 South Hanover Street, Carlisle, Pa.
Wieand, Reverend Charles Samuel .....October 2, 1902
209 Chestnut Street, Pottstown, Pa.
Wissler, Samuel H. .....July 13, 1899
Lincoln, Lancaster Co., Pa.
Witmeyer, Daniel P. .....October 24, 1901
Lebanon, Pa.
Wolle, Clarence A. .....October 28, 1909
803 Prospect Avenue, Bethlehem, Pa.

Wolle, Reverend Edward Samuel .....October 26, 1905
601 North Eighth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Wonsetler, Franklin Bean .....October 28, 1909
1348 DeKalb Street, Norristown, Pa.
Wuchter, Reverend Aston Clinton .....January 21, 1903
Toledo, Ohio.
Wurts, John S. .....January 26, 1911
1224 Land Title Building, Philadelphia, Pa.
Yeager, Reverend James Martin, D.D. .....July 15, 1897
Lewistown, Pa.
Yehl, Reverend E. A. .....October 19, 1911
Bangor, Pa.
Yerkes, Hon. Harman .....January 17, 1899
Doylestown, Pa.
Young, R. I. .....October 24, 1901
Middletown, Pa.
Zern, Jacob G., M.D. .....April 12, 1894
203 South Third Street, Lehighton, Pa.
Zerbey, Joseph Henry .....October 26, 1905
Pottsville, Pa.
Zimmerman, Henry S. .....April 28, 1903
135 North Eighth Street, Shamokin, Pa.

TOTAL 396.

DECEASED MEMBERS

Honorary

	Died.
Coxe, Hon. Eckley Brinton	May 13, 1895
Kell, James	June 4, 1899
Latimer, Hon. James W.	July 22, 1899
Stillé, Charles Janeway, M.D., LL.D.	August 11, 1899

Life

Eby, Hon. Maurice C.	April 4, 1914
Schwartz, James Ernest	May 16, 1900
Smith, Alfred	October 10, 1902

Regular

Albright, Hon. Edwin	December 13, 1902
Artman, Col. Enos Reeser	September 3, 1912
Baer, George F., LL.D.	April 26, 1914
Beaver, Daniel Benjamin DeWalt, M.D.	March 6, 1910
Beaver, Hon. James Addams, LL.D.	January 31, 1914
Borhek, Ashton Christian	March 6, 1898
Boyd, Peter Keller	November 27, 1901
Boyer, Benjamin Franklin	January 3, 1908
Bricker, Major John Randolph	October 15, 1906
Bruner, Daniel Pastorius	August 29, 1901
Brunner, Frank Riegner, M.D.	January 13, 1908
Burkert, Oliver Christian	October 29, 1908
Clymer, Hon. William Heister	June 5, 1914
Darmstaetter, Reverend J.	July 2, 1909
Davis, Captain Samuel T., M.D.	October 23, 1908
Diehl, Tilghman H.	May 10, 1913
Dotterer, Henry Sassaman	January 10, 1903
Dreher, Hon. Samuel S.	June 26, 1893
Dubbs, Reverend Joseph Henry, D.D., LL.D.	April 1, 1910

Dunmire, George Benson, M.D. .....November 2, 1905
Eberly, Adam John .....August 5, 1901
Eby, Hon. Maurice C. .....April 4, 1914
Egle, William Henry, M.D. .....February 19, 1901
Ermentrout, Hon. Daniel .....September 17, 1899
Ermentrout, Hon. James Nevin .....August 19, 1908
Fisher, Reverend Charles Gutzlaff, D.D. .....February 25, 1896
Flores, Lieutenant Philip Wetzel .....February 27, 1908
Fon Dersmith, Charles Allen .....April 12, 1909
Franklin, Walter Mayer .....June 27, 1913
Funck, Captain Josiah .....July 17, 1896
Gilbert, Reverend David McConaughy, D.D. .....October 16, 1905
Glatz, General A. Hiestand .....December 28, 1894
Gobin, General John Peter Shindel .....May 1, 1910
Gretzinger, William Christian .....February 19, 1909
Grumbine, Lee Light, Esq. .....August 18, 1904
Hanold, Frank Wildbahn .....January 7, 1909
Hanold, Hiester Muhlenberg .....May 23, 1901
Hartman, John Markley, M.E. .....September 4, 1910
Heckman, Reverend George Crider, D.D., LL.D. .....March 5, 1902
Heilman, Henry Snavely .....January 20, 1911
Heinitsch, Charles Augustus, M.D. .....December 29, 1898
Hensel, Hon. William Uhler, LL.D., Litt.D. .....February 27, 1915
Herr, Martin Luther, M.D. .....February 8, 1902
Hertz, Daniel Rhine D.D.S. .....October 1, 1905
Heydrick, Hon. Christopher, LL.D. .....October 9, 1914
Hobson, Freeland Gotwalts .....January 11, 1906
Holls, Hon. George Frederick William, D.C.L. .....July 23, 1903
Hostetter, Abraham F. .....June 15, 1911
Huff, Hon. George Franklin .....April 18, 1912
Humrich, Christian Philip .....January 5, 1906
Kauffman, Andrew John .....May 19, 1899
Kelker, Rudolph Frederick .....October 3, 1906
Kelker, William Anthony .....February 15, 1908
Keller, Christian Kunkel, M.D. .....December 7, 1913

Keller, John Peter, D.D.S. .....December 23, 1907
Klock, Henry Albright, M.D. .....February 1, 1908
Klotz, Hon. Robert .....May 1, 1895
Koch, Thomas J. .....February 10, 1915
Konigmacher, Jacob .....November 6, 1912
Kulp, George Brubaker .....February 15, 1915
Krotel, Reverend Gottlob Frederick, D.D., LL.D. .....May 17, 1907
Lamberton, James McCormick .....March 28, 1915
Landis, Henry, M.D. .....October 18, 1898
Lanius, Captain William H. .....January 21, 1913
Laubach, William .....July 30, 1914
Lehman, Samuel Kaufman .....June 4, 1893
Levan, Reverend Franklin Klein, D.D. .....November 13, 1894
Levan, Louis Sebastian .....December 26, 1896
Levering, Rt. Reverend Joseph Mortimer, D.D. .....April 4, 1908
McKnight, Milton Brayton .....July 9, 1910
Marks, Prof. Clement A. .....October 23, 1912
Marr, Addison Graham .....July 4, 1909
Maurer, Daniel C. .....December 31, 1901
Mauser, Jacob B. .....December 28, 1906
Meily, James .....April 20, 1905
Meily, Hon. John .....April 3, 1902
Meily, Richard .....March 31, 1906
Miller, Daniel .....August 1, 1913
Miller, Prof. Franklin Pierce .....January 2, 1909
Miller, Henry Grant .....May 11, 1907
Mish, John Weidman .....June 14, 1906
Muhlenberg, Francis, M.D. .....September 8, 1894
Muhlenberg, William Frederick, M.D., LL.D. .....August 25, 1915
Mumma, Hon. David .....June 20, 1893
Nichols, Henry Kuhl, C.E. .....November 22, 1904
Oberholtzer, George Rieger .....February 8, 1913
Ott, Charles Henry, M.D. .....November 1, 1909
Parthemore, E. Winfield Scott .....April 25, 1909
Pflueger, Reverend Oscar Erwin .....July 22, 1912

Porter, Reverend Thomas Conrad, D.D., LL.D. .....April 27, 1901
Rau, Robert .....July 30, 1906
Reeder, General Frank .....December 7, 1912
Reeder, Colonel Wilbur Fisk .....August 28, 1904
Redsecker, Jacob H., Ph.M. .....April 20, 1909
Reinhold, Lieut. Henry Sherk .....August 7, 1891
Reinoehl, Major Adam Cyrus .....December 13, 1900
Reinoehl, Hon. Adolphus .....September 29, 1893
Reist, Levi Sheaffer .....May 29, 1892
Richards, George Henry .....December 23, 1894
Richards, Reverend Matthias Henry, D.D. .....December 12, 1898
Rohrer, Major Jeremiah .....October 23, 1910
Rutter, Amos .....August 15, 1902
Saeger, Thomas William .....November 19, 1913
Santee, Eugene Irving, M.D. .....June 15, 1915
Sandt, Charles Albert .....May 5, 1909
Schaeffer, Reverend William Ashmead, D.D. .....July 27, 1907
Schantz, Charles Oscar .....July 26, 1911
Schantz, Reverend Franklin Jacob Fogel, D.D. .....January 19, 1907
Sheeleigh, Reverend Matthias, D.D. .....July 15, 1900
Schuler, Henry A. .....January 13, 1908
Schwab, Gustav Henry .....November 12, 1912
Seidensticker, Oswald, M.D. .....January 10, 1894
Seiss, Reverend Joseph Augustus, D.D., LL.D., L.H.D. ....June 20, 1904
Shea, Christian Bernard .....November 18, 1900
Shimer, Jacob Schantz, M.D. .....July 27, 1898
Shimmel, Lewis Slifer, Ph.D. .....March 9, 1914
Shindel, Colonel Jacob Andrew .....February 16, 1895
Shonk, Hon. George Washington .....April 14, 1900
Slaymaker, Henry Edwin .....September 1, 1905
Slaymaker, Colonel Samuel Cochran .....February 2, 1894
Smith, Reverend Oliver Peter, D.D. .....October 15, 1911
Stauffer, David McNeely, C.E. .....February 5, 1913
Steinmetz, Hon. Jacob Lieber .....February 15, 1904
Stichter, Franklin Goodhart .....August 6, 1907

Stober, Hon. Jeremiah Albert ..... January 17, 1910
Sütter, Daniel ..... November 23, 1900
Titzel, Christian Edgar ..... March 30, 1913
Unger, John Frederick, C.E. ..... April 11, 1908
Urner, Isaac Newton, LL.D. ..... July 9, 1904
Warfel, Hon. John B. ..... April 19, 1908
Weidler, Prof. Albert Green ..... February 17, 1907
Weidman, Major Grant ..... November 11, 1895
Weiser, William Franklin ..... April 1, 1906
Weiss, Hon. John H. ..... November 22, 1905
Welles, Edward ..... March 8, 1914
Weygandt, Cornelius Nolen ..... February 17, 1907
Yohe, Samuel Straub ..... October 21, 1902
Young, Colonel James ..... May 4, 1895
Zahm, Samuel Hensel ..... February 5, 1893
Zieber, Eugene B. ..... June 6, 1897
Zimmerman, Thomas C., Litt.D. ..... November 3, 1914

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Among the objects of the Society as set forth in the Constitution are "To discover, collect and preserve all still existing documents, monuments, etc., relating to the genealogy and history of the Pennsylvania-Germans, and from time to time publish them, particularly such as shall set forth the part belonging to this people in the growth and development of American character, institutions and progress."

The purpose set forth in the last part of the above extract from the constitution is being carried out under the title "Pennsylvania: The German Influence in its Settlement and Development. A Narrative and Critical History."

The work has been planned to extend over a number of years and has been divided into important subjects, each of which will be treated in an exhaustive manner by some writer whose studies and researches have qualified him as an authority on his particular subject.

The first two parts of this series of history appeared in volume VII of the *Proceedings,* published in 1897, and up to the present time twenty-five parts have been published in the succeeding volumes.

The following parts have appeared in the volumes of *Proceedings** so far published:

Part I. THE FATHERLAND: (1450–1750) showing the part it bore in the Discovery, Exploration and Development of the Western Continent, with special reference to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania By Julius Friedrich Sachse, pp. 224, plates 19, maps 2.

Part II. THE GERMAN EXODUS TO ENGLAND IN 1709. (Massen=auswanderung der Pfälzer). By Frank Ried Diffenderffer, pp. 157, plates 16.

Part III. THE GERMAN EMIGRATION TO AMERICA 1709–1740. By Rev. Henry Eyster Jacobs, D.D., LL.D., pp. 124, plates 12.

Part IV. THE SETTLEMENT OF GERMANTOWN PENNSYLVANIA AND THE BEGINNING OF GERMAN IMMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA By Hon. Samuel Whitaker Pennypacker, LL.D., pp. 300, plates 26, map 1.

* A complete detailed descriptive list of the *Proceedings* may be had on application to the Treasurer.

Part V. THE GERMAN EMIGRATION FROM NEW YORK PROVINCE INTO PENNSYLVANIA By Rev. Matthias Henry Richards, D.D., pp. 102, plates 8.

Part VI. THE DOMESTIC LIFE AND CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN PIONEER By Rev. F. J. F. Schantz, D.D., pp. 97, plates 10, facsimile 1.

Part VII. THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION INTO PENNSYLVANIA THROUGH THE PORT OF PHILADELPHIA, from 1700 to 1775. Part II. THE REDEMPTIONERS. By Frank Ried Diffenderffer, pp. 348, plates 22.

Part VIII. THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN OR DUNKERS. By George N. Falkenstein, pp. 148, plates 11.

Part IX. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA (1638–1800) By Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D. Vol. I., pp. 366, plates 20.

Part IX. A HISTORY OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA (1638–1820) By Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, D.D., pp. 256, plates 18. (Continued from volume XI.)

Part X. THE REFORMED CHURCH IN PENNSYLVANIA By Joseph Henry Dubbs, D.D., LL.D., pp. 371, plates 19.

Part XI. THE MUSIC OF THE EPHRATA CLOISTER Also Conrad Beissel's Treatise on Music as set forth in a preface to The Turteltaube of 1747 By Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D., pp. 108, plates 5.

Part XII. THE SCHWENKFELDERS IN PENNSYLVANIA, a Historical Sketch. By Howard Wiegner Kriebel, pp. 246, plates 17.

Part XIII. AMERICAN HISTORY FROM GERMAN ARCHIVES with Reference to the German Soldiers in the Revolution and Franklin's Visit to Germany By J. G. Rosengarten, pp. 101, plates 14, facsimile 1.

Part XIV. DANIEL FALCKNER'S CURIEUSE NACHRICHT FROM PENNSYLVANIA The book that stimulated the great German Immigration to Pennsylvania in the early years of the XVIII Century translated and annotated by Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D., pp. 264, plates 13, facsimiles 2.

Part XV. THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR By Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg Richards Late U. S. N., pp. 559, plates 17, facsimile 1.

Part XVI. THE WRECK OF THE SHIP NEW ERA UPON THE NEW JERSEY COAST NOVEMBER 13, 1854 By Julius Friedrich Sachse, Litt.D., pp. 61, plates 6.

Part XVII. GOVERNOR JOSEPH HIESTER A Historical Sketch By Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards, pp. 53, plates 2.

Part XVIII. THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR 1775–1783 By Henry Melchior Muhlenberg Richards Late U. S. N., pp. 554, plates 15.

Part XIX. DIARY OF A VOYAGE FROM ROTTERDAM TO PHILADELPHIA IN 1728 Translated by Julius F. Sachse, pp. 25, plates 3.

Part XX. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW SWEDEN BY CAROLUS DAVID ARFWEDSON, 1825, pp. 44, plates 8, map 1.

Part XXI. AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS OF THE GERMAN INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA by Benjamin Rush, M.D. with an introduction and annotations by Theodore E. Schmauk, and with the notes of I. D. Rupp revised pp. 130, plates 11.

Part XXII. EARLY GERMAN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS By Daniel Miller, pp. 107, plates 2.

Part XXIII. THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN NEW HANOVER, (Falckner Swamp) Montgomery County, Penna. By Rev. J. J. Kline, Ph.D., pp. 446, plates 6, facsimiles 2.

Part XXIV. THE WAYSIDE INNS ON THE LANCASTER ROADSIDE BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND LANCASTER. By Julius F. Sachse, pp. 77, plates 19. (to be continued.)

Part XXIV. THE WAYSIDE INNS ON THE LANCASTER ROADSIDE BETWEEN PHILADELPHIA AND LANCASTER (concluded.) By Julius F. Sachse, pp. 111, plates 7.

Part XXV. THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE SETTLEMENT OF MARYLAND By Daniel Wunderlich Nead, M.D., pp. 312, plates 17, maps 2.

Part XXVI. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE GERMAN ELEMENT IN YORK COUNTY PENNSYLVANIA By Abdel Ross Wentz, B.D., Ph.D., pp. 217, plate 1.

Part XXVII. THE DIARIUM OF MAGISTER JOHANNES KELPIUS with annotations by Julius Friedrich Sachse, pp.

CHURCH RECORDS

The following Church Records, containing births, deaths and marriages, have been published in different volumes of the *Proceedings:*

Birth and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa., pp. 104.

Birth and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (continued.), pp. 61.

Birth and Baptismal Register of The First Reformed Church, Lancaster, Pa., pp. 44.

Births and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (continued.), pp. 95.

Kirchen-Matricul: der Evangelisch Lutherischen Gemeinde in Neu Providenz, Pennsylvania, (Augustus Ev. Luth. Congregation, Trappe, Pa.) translated, collated and arranged by Julius Friedrich Sachse, pp. 90, plates 2.

Births and Baptismal Register of Trinity Lutheran Church, Lancaster, Pa. (concluded.), pp. 34.

Augustus Ev. Lutheran Church Trappe, Pa. Record of Marriages Confirmations and Burials with a list of the Contributors to Pastor's Salary Nov. 27, 1760, pp. 58.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia, pp. 43.

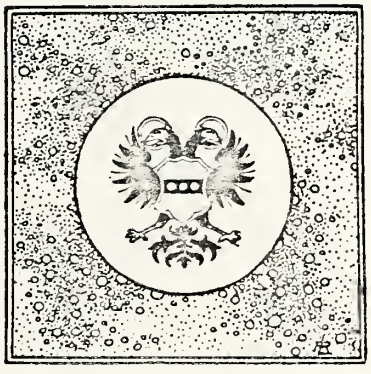
Church Register of the United Reformed and Lutheran Church, Called Blimyers, in Hopewell Township, York County, Pa., Commenced March 19, 1767, by Rev. Geo. Bager (Lutheran), and William Otterbein (Reformed), pp. 42.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia. (Continued from Vol. VII.), pp. 26.

The Records of St. Michaelis and Zion Congregation of Philadelphia. (Continued from Vol. VIII.), pp. 20.

Record of the Marriages in the Evangelical Lutheran Congregation in Philadelphia Commenced Anno 1745 (Continued from Volume IX.), pp. 141, plates 3.

Church Records of the Williams Township Congregation, pp. 102.



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